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THE USE OF CULTURAL DATA IN
PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS PROGRAMS
IN VIETNAM

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO AND OVERVIEW OF
THE VALUES PROJECTS

This is one of four research studies in support of U. S. efforts in Vietnam. They provide information about the Vietnamese people, their culture and values, and suggest uses in communications and military assistance programs. Information on American values is presented also. The detached observer can view his subjects as a biologist observes an insect under the microscope, only making sure that his reports are "objective" and systematic. But once the observer of a foreign political scene becomes also an actor, attempting to influence things, he needs insight into his own predispositions and values. Our values set our goals. In decision-making they constrain and reduce the alternatives we seriously consider, usually without awareness. Thus, ingrained American values and institutionalized practices directed our efforts in Vietnam, and they did not always serve us well.

But some wisdom may be gleaned retrospectively. In 1955, the U. S. committed itself to support a newly formed Asian country in a task that required--concurrently--social, political and economic development, and defense against an insurgent strategy patterned after Communist precepts and tested and refined in China (1940-47) and Indochina (1947-54). We became involved with a people with great ethnic pride but little experience in self-government; a people with a Chinese-Southeast Asian set of values and beliefs--values and beliefs alien to Occidentals. A more difficult task could hardly be imagined.

Retrospectively, we didn't appreciate what we were getting into. And our immediate precedents were more misleading than helpful. The Marshall Plan had successfully resuscitated Western Europe after World War II. In a more qualified success, with Korean help, we had stopped the North Koreans at the 38th parallel. But the Western Europeans had the knowhow to apply U. S. funds and capital equipment and thrive; and the Korean War was basically a conventional conflict, not a counterinsurgency operation.

Other experience was available that could have served us better--the anti-Huk experience in the Philippines, the successful British counterinsurgency operations in Malaya, and the immediate experiences of the French in Indochina. But these were not much called on. There was no institutional memory in the military for the strategy, tactics, and detailed techniques needed to address the struggle we would face. Worse, no superior monitor told us we needed to know! Our closest doctrinal approximation was the Marine Corps Small Wars Manual, prepared in 1940 but never published.

Given this scenario, our approach followed our own American values and, in the military, a set of precepts and organizational practices institutionalized in conventional conflict. We strove to pattern the Vietnamese military after our own, and--largely ignoring the Communist stimulated and supported insurgency in rear areas--set the defense of the 17th parallel as the mission. On the civilian side, we supplied a wealth of materiel and some training in public administration--American style. We hoped that from all this assistance there would emerge a politically and economically viable national polity.

Combining military and civilian efforts we built bridges, roads and schools, and formed strategic hamlets and ringed them with barbed wire. But in the far more difficult job of helping to develop communities--communities that would give meaning to these physical artifacts, communities with the will and unity to defend themselves--we often failed. As Kissinger has pointed out, "...our military strength had no political corollary."[1]

The inherent complexity of the situation, and our own brand of institutional wisdom, acquired from experience in traditional wars, in combination, were formidable obstacles. But man is intelligent; he can learn. Thrown into a strange situation he begins to recognize the insufficiency of existing guides, and to feel for better answers. A general officer, hearing that the Viet-Cong were superstitious, had his G-2 make a staff study. The intelligence officer recommended

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[1] Henry A. Kissinger, "The Viet Nam Negotiations," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 47, No. 2 (January 1969), p. 230.

that we fly out in our choppers and drop owls and aces-of-spades on the hapless
Viet-Cong, and that the Advanced Research Projects Agency should check this
further. These suggestions struck a responsive chord at the ARPA compound on
Ben Bach Dong. Seeing everywhere the impact of the massive American presence,
ARPA civilians and military began talking about syncretism and the need for a
more compatible mix of American and Vietnamese ways. While his specific sug-
gestions may be naive, the general was on the right track.

It began to be seen that communications are far more important in counter-
insurgency situations than in traditional warfare, and that they must address a
greater variety of audiences--friendly and fence-sitters, as well as enemies.
We began to appreciate that to communicate credibly, one must know not only
the language of his audience, but his own values and beliefs as well. Problems
of cooperative effort came to be better appreciated: Vietnamese and Americans
could readily agree on generalized, abstract goals. But when, working together,
Americans tried to translate these goals into ways and means, cross-cultural
differences became major obstacles. We could not just superimpose an American
modus operandi on a South Asian people (Vietnamese disagree politely--they smile
and nod their heads). Obviously then, there was a need to know more about the
Vietnamese culture and people. Such knowledge could improve psychological
operations, help advisor-advisee relationships, and help with the many tasks that
fall under the rubric of nation- or institution-building.

Such thoughts were the genesis for requirements which were translated
into the research described here. HSR efforts to date have resulted in four re-
ports, produced under ARPA contract.

The first report[2] describes the collection and integration of information
on the values and demography of rural Vietnamese in the Mekong Delta and an

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[2]M. Sternin, R. J. Teare, P. G. Nordlie. A Study of Values, Communi-
cation Patterns and Demography of Rural South Vietnamese (McLean, Va.: Human
Sciences Research, Inc., February 1968).

extensive treatment of the methodology used. Anticipating uses in psychological operations, we also collected information on formal and informal communications practices.

A second report[3] is designed to show how the information developed may be used in psychological operations. The hypotheses as to how it may be used are untested.

Recognition that values between cultures are relative rather than absolute, and that Americans need a better understanding of their own values, gave rise to the work reported in a third report.[4] Data collected on American value orientations were compared with data on Vietnamese collected earlier. Inferences from these data and other source materials gave rise to a treatise on problems to be expected when people of these two different cultures attempt to work together to accomplish common goals. Approaches that might help resolve some of these problems are suggested. Finally, technical problems of measurement of values are treated in an appendix.

The latest report in this study area[5] is an account of HSR's attempt to test certain of the findings on value orientation in a field situation in Vietnam, at the same time providing assistance to psyop programs in RVN. Guiding concepts were set forth and preliminary testing was just beginning when project funds were expended; the report is thus incomplete and is being distributed only to a limited audience.

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[3] M. D. Havron, M. Sternin, R. J. Teare. The Use of Cultural Data in Psychological Operations Programs in Vietnam (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., February 1968).

[4] John S. Parsons, Dale K. Brown, Nancy R. Kingsbury. Americans and Vietnamese: A Comparison of Values in Two Cultures (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., November 1968).

[5] E. Frederick Bairdain, Edith M Bairdain, Neil L. Jamieson, III. Psychological Operations Program Assessment: Vietnam Field Study June-October 1968 (U) (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., December 1968). CONFIDENTIAL.

In spite of a lack of closure, certain generalizations stand out.

- An intelligent approach to Vietnam-type situations requires knowledge of the people and culture. Such knowledge can be obtained in spite of many operational and technical problems, by methods and techniques known to the social sciences.

- Translating this knowledge into guiding concepts and into operations is as difficult as obtaining it. Nonetheless, it appears that this can be done for a variety of critical programs and tasks.

- To work effectively with people whose values and beliefs are different from ours, it is necessary to be conscious of one's own values and beliefs.

- To have real impact, work of the kind described here needs continuous support over a considerable time span. The state-of-the-art supporting this work provides useful concepts and methods, but considerable trial and error is required. Research of this sort must compete for support with hardware development programs which stem from American values which incline us to give priority to research in hardware technology. Often work such as that described does not fare well in this competition for priorities.

<div align="right">

-- M. Dean Havron, President
Human Sciences Research, Inc.

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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Background and Rationale

The requirement for this study grew out of the growing recognition that psychological operations can play a most significant role in the Vietnamese conflict and that our abili , to conduct such operations is hampered by a lack of knowledge of cultural chai .cteristics of the peoples to whom the operations are addressed. Culture, as the term is used here, denotes the body of values, symbolic meaning, and particular ways of perceiving the events in the world around them which characterizes the people of a society. To communicate effectively with people from cultures different from our own, U. S. forces must know how they think, what they value and consider important, and what their assumptions are about the world around them. Cultural information is critically important since psychological operations are primarily acts of communication, the effectiveness of which depends largely upon the compatibility of certain tacit assumptions of the communication with those of its intended recipient.

The purpose of this report is to illustrate how the data obtained in the study can be employed in psychological operations. The data collected in the field study are presented in summary form only. The reader is referred to a companion report[6] for a detailed description of the field study itself and a comprehensive presentation of the findings.

The study rests on the assumption that in order to communicate effectively with the Vietnamese, psychological operations must be based on awareness of:

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[6]M. Sternin, R. J. Teare, P. G. Nordlie. A Study of Values, Communication Patterns and Demography of Rural South Vietnam (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., February 1968). HSR-RR-68/2-Vs.

- the cultural values of ethnic Vietnamese;

- basic population demography;

- the channels of communication by which various groups (audiences) can be reached.

To obtain this basic information, a team of researchers spent eight months in the Mekong Delta collecting data in three hamlets--one Buddhist, one Catholic, and one Cao Dai. All of the data were obtained from selected samples of the population by standardized face-to-face interviews administered by trained Vietnamese interviewers.

The Viet-Cong have long recognized the crucial role of communications in the struggle to gain popular support. On the importance of communication to the Viet-Cong, Pike has written:

> ...almost every act of the NLF was conceived as an act
> of communication....Its communication system not only
> communicated information, explained it in meaningful
> terms, and provided it with a value judgment based on
> individual relevancy--the more or less traditional com-
> munication function--but it also shaped a communication
> weapon and used it to strike at the vitals of the GVN. Its
> victories and defeats were essentially the results of suc-
> cessful or unsuccessful communication efforts.[7]

Viet-Cong propaganda serves many purposes: it creates the fiction of military strength where strength is negligible; it justifies acts of murder and pillage; by threat and promise it coerces civilians to provide recruits, intelligence, assistance in operations, and supplies to the Viet-Cong side. The power of the Viet-Cong approach may be shown in the fact that while the counterinsurgents have a tremendous force ratio superiority--superior weapons, air domination, and far greater conventional mobility--the conflict is far from resolved (1968). History provides no better example of the pot   c   f a communications-oriented strategy <u>vis-a-vis</u> a preponderantly military strategy than the ability of the Viet-Cong, outnumbered

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[7]Douglas Pike. <u>Viet-Cong: The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam</u> (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966), pp. 120-121.

four to six, to maintain a seemingly endless stalemate against greatly superior forces and military technology.

For the U.S. and GVN, recognition of the critical role of communications has been slow to come.[8] Its importance to both sides is abundantly evident in existing studies of insurgency--studies of Viet Minh operations in Indo-China,[9] the Huk rebellion in the Philippines,[10,11] and of the Communist terrorist attempts in Malaya.[12]

In speaking of our psychological operations effort, we are referring to the joint efforts of the United States, the Government of Vietnam and other Free World Forces. Reportedly, psychological operations of GVN military and civilian agencies are less effective than those of U.S. forces. At first glance, this seems remarkable; the Vietnamese speak a common language and should not be handicapped, as Americans are, by lack of knowledge of the culture. But living within a culture is not the same as understanding its tacit value orientations or how the accepted assumptions and beliefs of that culture can be used in psychological operations. The Viet-Cong and North Vietnamese have been far more successful. First, they have recognized the significance of communications, as an instrument of war. Second, they have learned the values and beliefs of the people, and local grievances. Third, they have translated this knowledge into persuasive communications, using channels recognized as credible.

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[8]See Advanced Research Projects Agency. Report of the ARPA-Supported Committee on Psychological Operations, Vietnam 1967 (U) (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, Author, November 1967) (CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN). See also International and Civil Affairs Directorate, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, Department of the Army. Psyop Reason: Psychological Operations Role in Establishing a Sense of Nationhood (Washington, D.C.: Author, August 1967) (CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN).

[9]George K. Tanham. Communist Revolutionary Warfare: The Viet Minh in Indochina (New York: Praeger, 1961).

[10]Luis Taruc. Born of the People (New York: International Publishers, 1953).

[11]Napoleon D. Valeriano and Charles T.R. Bohannan, Counterguerrilla Operations: The Philippine Experience (New York: Praeger, 1962).

[12]H. Miller. Menace in Malaya (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1954).

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In many developing nations the national political system is seen by the people as alien and inattentive to their interests. To the extent that this schism between the rural people and the central government exists, it is a vulnerable target for communist subversive activities in addition to being a barrier to effective communication and persuasion by the GVN itself. It is critically important that Vietnamese become proficient in psychological operations, even more important than that U.S. forces become proficient. There are many messages that must be said by Vietnamese to Vietnamese; U.S. forces cannot say them with effect. The ultimate goal, according to Fall, is that government and people come out on the same side.[13] If psychological operations programs and messages are to be most effective, they must be based on a knowledge of the people to whom they are directed. This study represents a basic step toward providing such knowledge.

Purpose

This is an exploratory study. Its main objectives have been to collect information about the Vietnamese culture and to show how this information can be used in US/GVN psychological operations programs. The underlying rationale is this: To communicate effectively with the Vietnamese people, it is necessary to

(a) determine the communications channels by which particular Vietnamese audiences can be reached;

(b) identify the values and beliefs which Vietnamese use to interpret and judge communications to them; and

(c) establish best fits between channel selection, theme and message generation, and audience characteristics--i.e., to determine what to say to which audiences, using what media.

Within the confines of the population sampled, our data provide information on the above points. Beyond this we speculate. Recommendations which derive from the data are presented along with examples of how the data collected may be used in psychological operations programs.

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[13]Bernard Fall. Street Without Joy (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1961).

Nature of the Data Collected

A team of researchers spent eight months in Vietnam collecting information in three rural Delta villages--one Buddhist, one Catholic, and one Cao Dai. Three kinds of information were collected:

1. What kinds of people are they?--extensive demographic data on age, sex, education, occupation, income, religion, place of residence, etc., were obtained.

2. What are their fundamental assumptions and ways of thinking about the reality they live in?--data were collected from the Vietnamese peasants on their beliefs and values.

3. How does information pass among the Vietnam peasants and what communication patterns exist?--extensive data were collected on formal and informal modes and patterns of communication.

All of the data were obtained from selected samples of the population by standardized face-to-face interviews administered by Vietnamese interviewers. The findings are presented as arrays of information about the demography, formal and informal media usage, value orientations, and combinations thereof. Recommendations and examples of their uses in US/GVN psychological operations programs are based on the information presented.

Principal Findings

The substantive f ndings on value orientations, communication practices, and demography of the rural Vietnamese are presented in the companion report. The findings discussed in the present report relate to the usefulness of the data to the psychological operations process.

● There are fundamental differences in the value patterns of the people observed in the study.

●. These differences in values are accounted for, almost completely, by a limited number of fundamental demographic characteristics: age, sex, and educational level.

- The demonstrated relationship between value commitments and demographic characteristics provides needed and usable information for psychological operations with respect to audience identification, and to theme and message construction.

- The data obtained can be meaningfully used in preparing guidance materials for psychological operators.

- The majority of the rural audience in the Mekong Delta appear to be functionally illiterate and are not reached by the printed word.

- Formal means of communication, such as radio and newspapers, are considered less credible than informal word-of-mouth channels. Village and hamlet leaders, teachers, and religious leaders are seen as most credible.

- Audiences surveyed indicated a strong preference for entertainment programs such as classical music and drama.

Recommendations

- The assumptions and steps required to integrate cultural information into psychological operations are quite complex. Well trained professionals are needed to: (a) define, collect, and integrate information about culture; (b) develop propaganda themes and messages; (c) evaluate psychological operations by pre- and posttesting.

- The techniques of this study need to be extended to other groups such as urban Vietnamese, POW's and Vietnamese in other areas of Vietnam.

- Data collection instruments should be refined and additional concepts that can be exploited in psychological operations, such as Vietnamese concepts of causality need to be explored.

- Under the assumption that men from different cultures will work more effectively together if one group has some appreciation of the ingrained assumptions of the other, information such as that presented here should be integrated into training of American military and civilians for work in RVN.

- Since actions of military forces do communicate by intent or by accident, commands need closer contacts with civil affairs and psychological operations in selecting and planning the use of forces.

Limitations

While our data were collected in only three rural hamlets in the Mekong Delta, it has not been ascertained at this time the degree to which the findings can be generalized to other areas of Vietnam. There are indications in other studies and in the writings of other anthropologists that many of the findings do in fact apply to other areas.

Organization of This Report

Following the introduction provided by this chapter, Chapter II presents an analysis of the functional steps in the psychological operations process, and the kinds of information required for carrying out each step are identified. In Chapter III, the data collected in the hamlets on values, communications, and demography are summarized. An illustration, in scenario form, is developed in Chapter IV to show how, in a practical context, these data can be used in psychological operations tasks. In Chapter V, a range of other applications of the data are described.

CHAPTER II:

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS PROCESS AND
MANAGEMENT INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS

Assembling knowledge of a culture is one matter but using it effectively in psychological operations is quite another. This chapter sets forth the functional steps in the psychological operations management process. For each step, information requirements are identified. These information requirements guided collection of the cultural information reported in Chapter III. The last two chapters return to the psychological operations tasks to show, by example, how information collected in this study can be used in carrying them out.

Psychological Operations in Counterinsurgency

Psychological operations have been defined as those operations, including psychological warfare, which:

> ...encompass those political, military, economic and
> ideological activities planned and conducted to create
> in neutral and friendly foreign groups, the emotions,
> attitudes or behavior to support the achievement of
> national objectives. [14]

Psychological operations should be broadly conceived. They consist of communications by words, communications by acts, and verbal communications designed to interpret and further the purpose of actions.

The war in Vietnam is a double war in the sense that broad objectives of the GVN and its allied forces are at the same time military combat and nation-building. On one side of the coin, the objectives are to weaken and defeat the Viet-Cong, the North Vietnamese Army in Vietnam, the VC political infrastructure, and the sentiments that support the insurgent. On the other side, the objectives are to support the nation-building process by helping to establish, strengthen and

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[14] Joint Chiefs of Staff, Dictionary of United States Military Terms for Joint Usage (Washington, D.C.: Joint Chiefs of Staff, Publ. 1, 1964).

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maintain a responsible and responsive political entity at all levels and to gain popular support for educational, economic and other institutions that strengthen the country and contribute to political stability.

In considerable part, the objectives of psychological operations are established by the nature of insurgency/counterinsurgency operations. The struggle for political control mechanisms is central. The insurgents' objective is to create-- and to capitalize on--dissatisfaction with the government, to separate government from people. The counterinsurgent's goal is to get the government and the people on the same side. The goal of both sides is to create confidence in eventual victory for its own side, to weaken the military forces of the other, and to reduce the will of the antagonist to fight. These are necessary goals and objectives of both sides, largely unchangeable, and psychological operations support them.

From a manager's viewpoint, the entire psychological operations process can be analyzed into the seven interrelated functions or tasks depicted below:

Figure II-1
TASKS IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS PROCESS
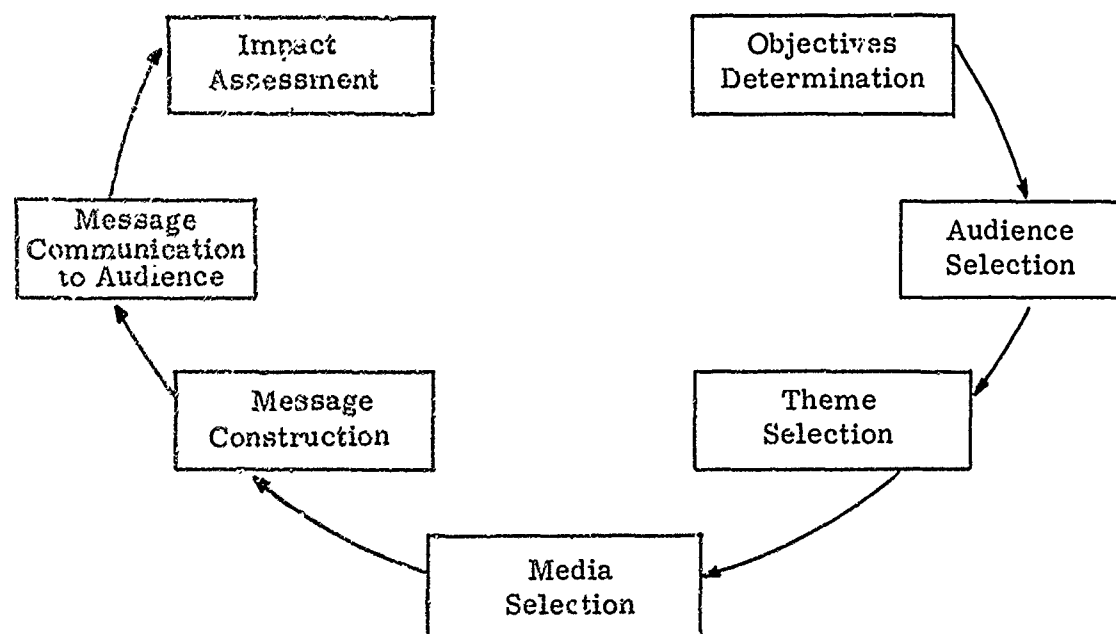
All of these tasks are involved, explicitly or implicitly, in any psychological operation. Each may be performed more or less well using more or less adequate information upon which to base decisions. The effectiveness of a given operation is measured by the extent to which the impact on the audience (i. e., changes in attitudes and behavior) achieves the intended objectives.

Each of the tasks in the psychological operations process is described briefly below.

Objectives Determination

Consider first the duties of the planner in setting forth objectives and in defining programs. His general objectives stated above may be translated into specific attempts to stimulate Viet-Cong and North Vietnamese Army defections, sow the seeds of discontent and disunity within the ranks, and influence people under Viet-Cong control to withhold their support of the enemy. He may wish to gain popular support for local police forces, school and highway construction, for community work projects, etc.

These objectives specify the bases of psychological operations programs. Where objectives are general and continuously pursued, psychological operations programs are formulated which consist of sets of themes, messages and appeals whose purpose is to help accomplish them.

Audience Selection

To pursue these objectives, psychological operations need to address a number of audiences: the general public, opinion leaders, the Viet-Cong and supporting infrastructure, and the North Vietnamese military elements in South Vietnam. Once objectives are made specific, they will include, either implicitly or explicitly, an indication of the intended audience. The major audiences can be broken down into a number of sub-audiences, so that psychological operations communications can be addressed to each. For example, the general public can be divided into religious subgroups, economic subgroups, students, families whose members are in the Viet-Cong, etc. In many instances, the appeals to be directed to sub-audiences

will depend on their makeup. Therefore, even though specification of the objectives may define the intended audience, the psychological operations specialist will often find it necessary to divide the intended audience into its component subgroups and develop themes and messages for each.

Another component of audience selection is the determination of what specific individuals within a given audience are opinion leaders or "key communicators." A key communicator is a person who can be expected to relay messages to a number of other people who hold his opinions in high regard. The importance of such key individuals is noted by Pye, who remarks that since few people are in a position to learn about political events through direct observation, they must rely on reading and listening to reports by others. He continues:

> Being dependent on others for information makes it
> necessary, if one is to be informed on political develop-
> ments, to seek out or expose oneself to the various
> systems of communications that exist in a society.
> This in turn means that the available pattern or systems
> of communications become key factors in determining
> an individual's understanding of political issues. The
> [key] communicators, whether professional or informal
> opinion leaders, are in a position to govern the way in
> which particular issues are structured or formulated.
> In performing their function of dispersing information,
> they play a major role in determining what is and what
> is not considered relevant in explaining political develop-
> ments. In doing so, they suggest the pattern of logic
> appropriate to reasoning about issues, and they often
> indicate the moral considerations involved in the events
> they are reporting.[15]

If, therefore, one knows who the opinion leaders of a larger group are, the message can be constructed in such a way as to have relevance for those individuals who in turn will pass it on to the larger group.

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[15] Lucian W. Pye. Guerrilla Communism in Malaya (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 177.

Theme Selection

The next task in the psychological operations process involves the matching of assigned objectives and audiences with cultural information about audiences. Given a Chieu Hoi program or a program designed to obtain the support of village dwellers for a Revolutionary Development Team, what programs, themes, and messages are most apt to be received and accepted?[16] Here it is possible to develop an almost infinite variety of themes and messages in order to maximize the probability of reaching and influencing the intended audiences. Here the communicator reviews his information about audiences, in order to formulate themes and understandable, credible and persuasive arguments to be used in messages. (This process is illustrated in Chapter IV, using data collected in this study.)

Media Selection

The psychological operations theme or message must reach the audience. Hence the communicator must know which channels to use. In a narrow sense, this is a technical problem of communications and it is easy to regard it as such. But it is much more than this. Certain media may be regarded by audiences as inherently credible,[17] others as lacking in credibility, as impersonal and unattractive. Selection of media--and of course several may be used concurrently--becomes a complex task of estimating cost effectiveness of the several media alternatives, in view of resources available. Further, due regard must be paid to the interaction between audiences and media--certain audiences can only be approached, or can best be approached, by certain media.

Both the subdivision of audiences and the development of themes and messages for each audience discussed elsewhere require knowledge of the subsectors of the culture, and the particular media that can be used to reach important elements

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[16]Here, and throughout this report, the term program is defined to include one or more themes, all oriented toward a specific set of objectives, and a plan for accomplishing them. Themes are used to denote general arguments which can be subdivided into a variety of messages.

[17]See David Elliot. Appendix C: Comments on Psychological Operations in Report of the ARPA-Supported Committee on Psychological Operations, Vietnam 1967 (U), op. cit.

of audiences. All of the information which would be useful for defining audiences and themes would constitute a complete description of the culture. Indeed, current field manuals on psychological operations do include lengthy and undifferentiated lists. One approach to pinpointing key information needs is described in the next section.

Message Construction

Specific messages are derived from themes which are compatible with media to be used, and with the literacy level and habitual modes of thinking of the audience. In translating a message into the language of the audience, it is not only knowledge of the language, local idiom and vernacular that is important, but knowledge of other cultural characteristics as well.

Message Communication

This managerial function describes the actual process of communication by whatever media have been selected. In addition to the more familiar leaflets, posters, radio and the like, this process should be viewed broadly to include use of public news media, entertainment troupes, use of mass meetings and word-of-mouth communications.

Impact on Audience

The effectiveness of psychological operations is dependent on their impact on audience attitudes and behavior. Audience impact measures can provide feedback to the steps described above so operations can continuously be improved. Measurement of audience impact is often difficult, requiring substantial expertise. Because of this, all too often psyop activity becomes the criterion, under the assumption that psyop activity and psyop impact are correlated--a dangerous and frequently invalid assumption.

Requirements for Information about Value Orientations

By definition, psychological operations are centered on the task of persuading people--a task difficult in any culture. Between cultures, persuasion is even more difficult because in order to persuade, one must communicate effectively first. In Vietnam, we have not only the problems of communication and persuasion which are well recognized within the American culture, but added problems of communicating to people of an Oriental culture. The "language barrier" is an obvious impediment; but there is a less obvious and equally important barrier to communication between two people from different cultures. Starting from childhood, our surrounding culture teaches us ways of organizing our experiences. The similarity of organization of experience makes communication between the members of the same culture more efficient, because the tacit understandings on which communications are based are habitually accepted by both parties, usually subconsciously. We do not readily recognize the host of agreements between two people in "meaning" that are prerequisite to effective and speedy communication.

The point may be illustrated by considering communication between two persons as if they were computers. It is said that if all the information an average person knows were stored in a computer, it would require the space of several gymnasia. But when two people talk, the rate of information exchange--the "bit rate"--is only a few bits per second. Thus, beyond conveying meaning in the dictionary sense, our words evoke a context and a set of images in the mind of the recipient. They serve to call up in his mind associated meanings to the words which both communicator and recipient have learned by sharing the same cultural experiences. For the communicator to get across what he intends, he must trigger the "right associations" in the recipient. If the words or acts of the communicator evoke different or contradictory associations in the recipient than those the communicator assumes, then the recipient is apt to receive an entirely different message than the one intended. In such a case, our two computers are programmed differently; if they are to communicate at all, considerable tedious effort will be required to align their programming, i.e., their different assumptions.

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These deeply ingrained assumptions are referred to as <u>value orientations</u>.[18]
They are ways of organizing experience which begin to be learned from child-
hood--from the culture, family, and continuous associations with friends and fellow
workers. Value orientations determine in large part how people perceive the world
around them, the criteria of relevance by which they interpret incoming stimuli,
and how they choose among action alternatives. Having been conditioned and con-
tinuously applied, value orientations become, in large measure, subconscious habits
of perception and thought. While men of all cultures regard themselves as rational,
this does not mean that given the same "facts" they will derive the same conclusions.
Many of our daily acts, including important ones, are more or less predicated on
"set," on our ingrained criteria for relevance.

An understanding of the value orientations of the audience is of obvious
importance to the psychological operator who is charged with the responsibility of
communicating effectively. But, unless he is rather sophisticated, he is handi-
capped in two ways. First, he probably won't realize that neither he nor his
listener is apt to be aware of his own value orientations or of the fact that their
value orientations may be different or incompatible. Second, having been accus-
tomed to communications with people of his own culture, he is not fully aware of
the tacit general understandings that are required for his more specific "words" to
be understood. One important purpose of this study has been to explore and bring
to light the value orientations of Vietnamese.

Requirements for Information about Communications Media

Knowledge of communications media is needed to reach the audience and
to exploit existing communications practices within an audience. The areas of
knowledge needed can be classified as three.

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[18]Values and attitudes can both be thought of as determinants of behavior.
And while no clear line of demarcation can be drawn between values and attitudes,
values can be thought of as more general, and as having referents to <u>classes</u> of
phenomena rather than specific referents as do attitudes. A person is more likely
to be aware of his attitudes than he is of his value orientations, which he tends to
take for granted as given. He may be aware of his own positive attitude toward plan-
ning in an orderly way to achieve some future goal, for example, but he is less likely
to be conscious of the fact that this attitude is rooted in certain value orientations
concerning causality and man's capabilities for controlling nature.

1. Formal or Mass Media

The communicator needs to know which mass media to employ to reach particular audiences.

2. Informal Media

Informal media refer to the "grapevine" channels--travelers, merchants, etc.--that can be used to reach the inhabitants of hamlets from without, and to village and hamlet communication nets that can serve internally to keep the people informed. The importance of these media in the rural areas of developing countries has been emphatically stressed by David Elliot, Lucian Pye and others.

3. Face-to-Face Communications

In addition to mass and informal media which may be used deliberately in attempts to influence the audience, communication patterns internal to the hamlets are of interest. By knowing who talks to whom about what, one can better estimate the spread of communication within hamlets which psychological operations cannot control. Elliot has emphasized that almost the only information people are most likely to accept and believe is that which they hear first hand from a neighbor or a friend whom they trust. [19]

The Requirement for Demographic Information

Knowledge of ranges and patterns of age, sex, education level, and occupation of audiences can be critically important to psychological operations. Also, if demographic characteristics are found to be correlated with value orientations, since demographic characteristics are easier to measure, values orientations can be inferred from demographic characteristics rather than being measured directly. Thus, knowledge of audience demography can be used to reach audiences with given patterns of values. In the present study, values, communications, and demographic data were obtained from the same people and the interrelationships among them were studied.

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[19] Elliot, op. cit., p. 7.

The Requirement for Integrating Values, Communications, and Demographic Data

Values, communications, and demographic data provide three distinctly different kinds of information about a target audience. Each independently gives the psychological operations manager a particular kind of information which has implications for carrying out the tasks in a psychological operations program. Value orientation information helps define themes and messages; communications information provides guides on what media should be selected to convey the particular message; and demographic information specifies particular characteristics of the audience which provide further guidance on how to frame the message.

These three kinds of data about audiences can be combined to generate even more incisive themes and messages for specific audiences. One can, for example, determine the communications media preferences of people with different value orientations and which media are most likely to reach particular sex, age, religious, or occupational groups. Thus, specific audiences can be defined for each psychological operations program and themes and messages can be specially tailored to be compatible with their ingrained value orientations and channeled to them through the most appropriate media.

CHAPTER III:

CULTURAL INFORMATION COLLECTED IN VIETNAM

In the two previous chapters, the basic tasks of a program in psychological operations were discussed. Psychological operations were defined and discussed as <u>basically</u> organized programs of communications and persuasion. As indicated in Chapter II, effective psychological operations require information about audiences. This chapter describes information of the types defined earlier about Vietnamese audiences.[20] Applications of this information to psychological operations are described in Chapters IV and V.

Conduct of the Research

Study Sites

All of the information was collected by trained Vietnamese interviewers, under the supervision of American research scientists, during the summer of 1967. Three hamlets located in the rural areas of Dinh Tuong Province in the Mekong Delta were chosen for study (see map on page 20). The most fundamental difference among the three hamlets was in religion, this difference was, in fact, a major reason for their selection. Binh Hanh is a Buddhist community located in Long Binh Dien Village about eight kilometers east of My Tho, the province capital. Binh Dinh, a Catholic community in Long Dinh Village, is approximately fourteen kilometers from My Tho. The residents of Thanh Duc, only four kilometers from My Tho, are primarily members of the Cao Dai sect.

In each of the three hamlets, a complete census was carried out. The numbers of males and females and complete age distributions were tabulated for all households in the hamlet. From these data, sampling plans were set up in each hamlet to permit drawing random samples from each.

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[20]For presentation of all the data collected see Sternin, <u>et al.</u>, <u>op cit</u>. This chapter summarizes findings basic to the applications described in Chapters IV and V.

Descriptions of Hamlet Residents

Each of the residents interviewed was given an extensive series of questions designed to describe completely his biographic history and demographic characteristics.[21] The respondent was asked questions about his place of birth, length of time in the hamlet, birthplace(s) of his parents, and the age, sex, and location of relatives (living and dead). His religious beliefs and practices, frequency of attendance, and extent of religious education were determined. Questions about occupation, income level, type of housing, land ownership, and number of dependents were used to define his socio-economic status. His level of cultural sophistication was explored by means of questions concerning amount of education, literacy, and reading habits. Questions dealing with marital status, family size, dependent members, and number of people in his household were used to assess the size and structure of the immediate and extended family. In addition to information from individual respondents, the interviewers gathered data, formally and informally, about the size and structure of the hamlet/village complexes, the nature of their social and political organization, and the history of the communities in which the people lived and worked.[22]

Assessment of Values

As with the demographic information, each respondent was asked a standardized series of questions designed to assess the ways in which he looked at the world about him. This framework of assumptions has been discussed in the previous chapter under the concept of "value orientations." These questions centered around the five main concepts (or orientations listed below) drawn from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck[23] and adapted for use in the Vietnamese situation.

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[21] The listing of items covered is contained in the Appendix of this report.

[22] More extensive village descriptions are presented in Sternin, et al., op. cit.

[23] Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck. Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961).
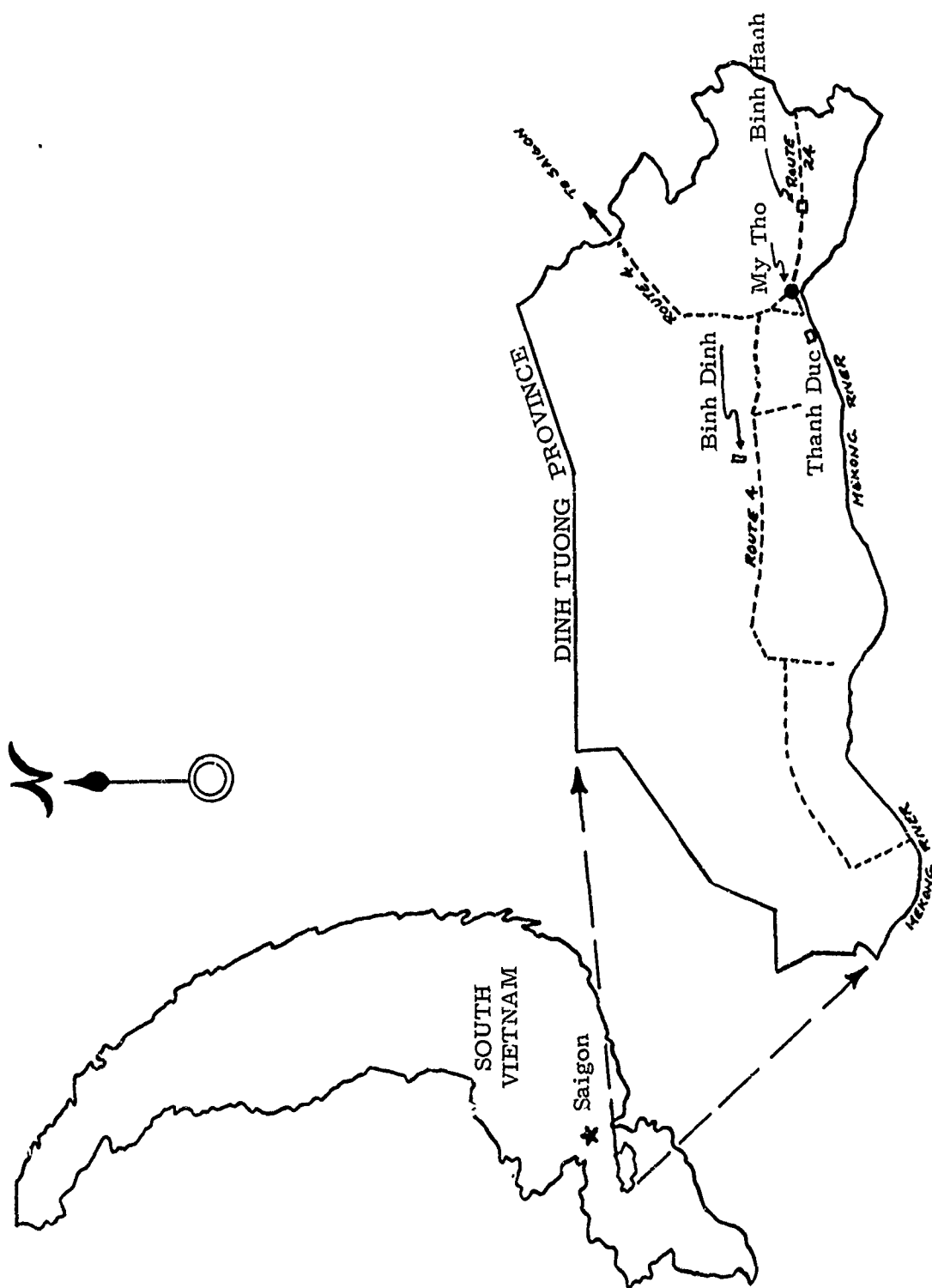
Figure III-1. AREA OF STUDY

1. <u>Human Nature</u> dealt with judgments about the innate
    character of human nature or of the moral nature of man.
    This was assessed by determining the respondent's verbal
    reactions to socially unacceptable acts and his evaluations
    of the motives of people. Within this framework, man
    could be seen as basically <u>good</u>, intrinsically <u>evil</u>, or as
    a <u>mixture</u> of good and evil.

2. <u>Man-Nature</u> was concerned with the respondent's judg-
    ments about the relation of man to nature and, in general,
    to the environment that surrounds him. If one felt that
    events had to be accepted as inevitable, this fatalism was
    characterized as <u>submission</u>. The feeling that one should
    live in a balanced union with his environment, with con-
    flict reduction as a primary motive, was called <u>harmony</u>.
    An approach to life characterized by control and mastery
    of the environment was described as <u>dominance</u>.

3. <u>Time</u> dealt with the temporal focus of the respondent,
    particularly with reference to his perspective for decid-
    ing on a course of action. If he placed great value on the
    things of the past and/or drew heavily on precedent or tra-
    dition for guidance, he was characterized as <u>traditional</u>.
    An individual characterized by a "timeless ahistorical
    present," reacting on the basis of cues and factors con-
    tained in the immediate situation, was described as having
    a <u>situational</u> orientation with respect to "Time." An
    individual who focused on present conditions only insofar
    as they could be used to shape the future or who felt the
    importance of setting goals and planning to reach them
    was <u>goal-oriented</u>.

4. <u>Activity</u> dealt with judgments about the basic sources of
    satisfaction and, consequently, the possible motives that
    one might have for carrying out the activities of life. An
    individual who placed great value in taking action for the
    sake of accomplishment was considered to be oriented
    toward <u>achievement</u>. A person who derived satisfaction
    from the <u>action</u>, regardless of its outcome, as a means of
    self-expression, was characterized as <u>expressive</u>. Finally,
    an individual who engaged in activity for the purpose of
    evolving as a person and developing as an individual was
    described as oriented toward <u>inner-development</u>.

5. <u>Relational</u> had as its principal focus the concept of author-
    ity relationships and the locus for making decisions. An
    individual who felt that decision-making should take place

on the basis of strict lines of authority, with emphasis on superior-subordinate relationships, was characterized as having a formalistic orientation. A peer-oriented value commitment was attributed to those respondents who felt that the exercise of power and the making of decisions should be rooted in the group process. This orientation was also characterized by a focus on group discussion for the purpose of reaching consensus. An individualistic orientation was one in which a respondent felt that each person should make his own decisions and act in a manner relatively independent of other people.

An understanding of the relative importance of these varying perspectives in the minds of a group of individuals is relevant to psychological operations. Villagers' reactions to strangers and foreigners and their perceptions of motives are a reflection of values associated with Human Nature. The Man-Nature orientation has great relevance to reactions to innovation and technological change. Knowledge of the Time perspective of individuals is of value in determining the role of planning and the degree of resistance that may be encountered as goals are set and activity is engaged in. The introduction of psychological operations goals and objectives will require knowledge of the Activity dimension in that this orientation has to do with what attracts men to their goals and what new goals would be relevant, understandable and acceptable. Little explanation is required to justify the need for knowing how decisions are made and how authority is distributed, which is the essence of the Relational orientation.

Beyond the measurement of these five broad values perspectives, an attempt was made to determine whether or not the Vietnamese held different values for different areas of human activity. For example, do they view the innate character of people engaged in business as different from that of those working in government? In order to measure the variations of value orientations by content area, the five general value orientations above were obtained with respect to the following three areas of activity: economics and business; personal and social affairs, and government and community activities.

Description of Communications Activity

The last major area of information on which data were collected was related to the communications behavior of the residents and the communications patterns within the various hamlets. Focus was placed on mass media as well as selected channels and dealt with formal and word-of-mouth information networks.[24] The respondents were asked to describe their listening patterns (frequencies as well as topics) for a wide variety of media. These included radio, television, newspapers, books and magazines, loudspeakers, movies (government and commercial), posters, leaflets, and live entertainment. In addition to these standard media, they were asked to describe the types of persons to whom they turned for information and for advice. These sources included such people as village and hamlet officials, religious leaders, teachers, Information Services Cadre, government, province, and district officials, travelers and drivers, and merchants. The kinds of information obtained and the reasons for selecting these sources were also investigated.

Finally, the respondents were asked to describe their contacts with persons and places outside of the hamlet-village vicinity. These questions included information about frequency of travel, places visited, and reasons for traveling. They also dealt with correspondence (telephone, wire, mail, messages) to various people and places. As part of the general village/hamlet description, an attempt was made to determine relationships between community structure and the ways in which information is exchanged. This included the functioning of the village public address system, the market place, the church or temple, and the various official offices located in the community.

Principal Findings

Described below are the principal findings of the three main categories of information: demographic, values, and communications.

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[24] A condensation of the questions asked in the communications area is presented in the Appendix to this report.

Demographic Findings

Three hamlets were selected which were convenient to My Tho. Each was inhabited by a religious group well represented in Vietnam. Binh ⸲ nh is predominantly a Buddhist community, Binh Dinh is Catholic, and Thanh Duc is Cao Dai. Binh Dinh is settled by Catholic refugees who moved south in 1954. Thanh Duc was more recently settled by refugees mostly from provinces to the west but some from insecure areas of Dinh Tuong province. Binh Hanh is a well-established community of long standing. Finally, two of the hamlets, Binh Hanh and Thanh Duc, are primarily agrarian. By contrast, Binh Dinh derives much of its income from the manufacture and sale of mats, and consequently has a higher money income than the other two hamlets, although since its residents owned no land, their real income was comparable to, if not less than, the others. (The demographic data obtained is summarized in Table III-1, page 25.)

The demography of the three hamlets is in many ways similar. In general, females were more prevalent than males by about twenty per cent. The age distributions of the sexes were essentially the same, and all hamlets had a high proportion of older (40+ years) people. The median education was approximately three years of elementary schooling, and education, although far from extensive, was much more characteristic of younger residents and of the males.

Values Findings[25]

First, the general findings about the values of the rural Vietnamese in the three sample hamlets are summarized. In the Human Nature orientation, the most

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[25] Technical Note: In comparing two cultures, values are meaningful in a relative rather than an absolute sense. But an essentially new instrument such as that used here has no universal cultural norms to use as a standard of comparison. At the time this study was conducted, we had no data on any population other than Vietnamese so we state, for the five values areas, which of the three alternatives were chosen by most people. The number of people who chose a given value position by this rationale indicates the stronger value orientation. Hence, our discussion necessarily conveys a connotation of absolute rather than relative value strengths. Further ambiguity is necessarily introduced in this first attempt to measure values, since we do not yet know how to adjust individual item alternatives to permit

(Continued)

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Table III-1

BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

Demographic Variable	Total Sample (N=360)[1]		Binh Hanh (N=120)		Binh Dinh (N=120)		Thanh Duc (N=120)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sex:								
Male	137	(38)[2]	45	(38)	45	(38)	47	(39)
Female	223	(62)	75	(62)	75	(62)	73	(61)
Age:								
Youth (14-19 yrs.)	77	(21)	25	(21)	27	(23)	25	(21)
Young Adult (20-29 yrs.)	69	(19)	23	(19)	24	(20)	22	(18)
Adult (30-39 yrs.)	73	(20)	24	(20)	22	(18)	27	(23)
Mature Adult (40-60 +)	138	(38)	48	(40)	44	(37)	46	(38)
Education:								
None	98	(27)	33	(28)	38	(32)	27	(22)
1-2 yrs.	77	(21)	22	(18)	21	(18)	34	(28)
3-5 yrs.	146	(40)	46	(38)	44	(37)	56	(47)
6-12+	39	(11)	19	(16)	17	(14)	3	(2)
Religion:								
None	15	(4)	13	(11)	1	(1)	1	(1)
Buddhist	80	(22)	67	(56)	1	(1)	12	(10)
Cao Dai	103	(29)	5	(4)	0	(0)	98	(82)
Catholic	124	(34)	5	(4)	117	(97)	2	(2)
Pure Ancestor Worship	31	(9)	26	(22)	0	(0)	5	(4)
Others	7	(2)	4	(3)	1	(1)	2	(2)
Ancestor Worship:								
Non-Worshipers	144	(4)	11	(9)	114	(95)	19	(15)
Worshipers	216	(60)	109	(91)	6	(5)	101	(84)

[1]Frequencies for Hamlet or Sample totals (for any demographic variable) may not always add up 120 or 360. These slight differences are the result of unanswered questions.

[2]These percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Because of unanswered questions, they may not always total 100 percent for a given demographic variable.

Table III-1. DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION (Continued)

Demographic Variable	Total Sample (N=360)		Binh Hanh (N=120)		Binh Dinh (N=120)		Thanh Duc (N=120)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Home Town:								
This Hamlet	61	(17)	60	(50)	0	(0)	1	(1)
This Village	5	(1)	4	(3)	0	(0)	1	(1)
This District	48	(13)	42	(35)	0	(0)	6	(5)
This Province	24	(7)	4	(3)	5	(4)	15	(12)
Southern Region	106	(29)	8	(7)	1	(1)	97	(81)
Central Region	2	(1)	0	(0)	2	(2)	0	(0)
Northern Region	112	(31)	0	(0)	112	(93)	0	(0)
Other Location	1	(0)	1	(1)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Occupation:								
None	24	(7)	6	(5)	7	(6)	11	(9)
Students	27	(8)	16	(13)	8	(7)	3	(2)
Housewives	34	(9)	23	(19)	3	(2)	8	(7)
Laborers	12	(3)	6	(5)	0	(0)	6	(5)
Farmers	93	(26)	25	(21)	0	(0)	68	(57)
Merchants	30	(8)	19	(16)	6	(5)	5	(4)
Soldiers	34	(9)	11	(9)	14	(12)	9	(3)
Professional (Teachers, Civil Servants)	15	(4)	9	(7)	5	(9)	1	(1)
Other (Mat Weavers)	90	(25)	5	(4)	76	(63)	9	(8)
Yearly Household Income:[3]								
Low (0-23,999)	77	(21)	22	(17)	12	(10)	43	(35)
Low-Middle (24,000-59,999)	166	(44)	48	(38)	51	(42)	67	(56)
Upper-Middle (60,000-119,999)	63	(17)	19	(15)	38	(32)	6	(5)
High 120,000 or more	24	(7)	9	(7)	13	(11)	2	(2)

[3]These amounts are expressed in piasters. At the time of the study, the import exchange ratio was 117 piasters/1 U.S. dollar.

noteworthy finding is the very small proportion of the sample who felt that the behavior of their fellow man stemmed from motives or a basic nature that was inherently _evil._ On the other hand, the remainder are equally split between seeing man as either _good_ or as a mixture of _good and evil._

The most revealing finding about their conception of _Man and Nature_ or man and his environment is their feeling that man should exert a _dominant_ role in dealing with matters of his environment.[26]

In the _Time_ orientation, very few Vietnamese saw the importance of responding to situations in terms of _planning and goal orientation._ Most indicated that actions and behavior should be chosen on the basis of characteristics of the _immediate situation._

With regard to the _Activity_ orientation, there was found to be a fairly high _achievement_ motivation and a very low value placed on _expressiveness._

Finally, it was determined that in the _Relational_ orientation, _group or peer_ decision-making was generally lacking while there was a strong expectation that decisions should come from higher authority or parents.

When the three different content areas were compared for variations in value orientation, the following major breakdowns appeared.

Footnote 25 (Continued) variability to occur in the value parameter, as yet unknown. Because of these problems, certain findings of value strengths reported here do not correspond with value strengths that might be inferred from the writings of informed observers. Most of these disagreements were clarified--brought into harmony--when data from Vietnamese and Americans were compared (see Parsons, et al., _op. cit._), and when age is introduced as a variable. For example, while Vietnamese scores show dominance prevailing, Americans are far more dominant. While the harmony orientation of Vietnamese is lower than one would expect from the culture, the older Vietnamese are strongly harmony-oriented as would be inferred from writings of Hickey and Mus; the younger exhibit a marked dominance orientation, which Hickey and Mus do not anticipate in their publications available to us. See Gerald C. Hickey, _Village in Vietnam,_ with "Foreword" by Paul Mus. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

[26] This rather surprising finding is discussed further in Parsons, _et al.,_ where we discuss the relative nature of scaled responses. Suffice it to say here that Americans were far more dominant than Vietnamese.

In the Human Nature orientation, forty per cent of the respondents considered the economic and business activities of men to stem from a human nature which was a mixture of good and evil. This perception was even stronger with respect to the conduct of personal and social affairs. The most noteworthy departure from this was found in the area of government and community affairs where more people viewed human nature as expressed in political activities as inherently good. By the same token, more villagers looked upon it as inherently evil.

In the ways in which Man in relation to Nature or his environment were viewed, the Vietnamese were highly dominance oriented in the fields of economics and business and in personal and social affairs. They also tended to have an extremely low harmony orientation in those same activities. In government and community activities, the harmony orientation was generally high.

The Vietnamese were equally divided in their Time orientation with regard to economic and busine.s with traditional and situational orientations of about equal strength. The same general split appeared in personal and social activities. In the realm of government and community affairs, the Vietnamese were extremely high in the situational orientation and very low in either the traditional orientation, or the future orientation.

In the Activity orientation, the achievement motive pertained almost entirely to the affairs of economics and business. Inner-development was of value primarily in personal and social affairs, and to a lesser degree in government and community concerns. Political activity was more diversely viewed than any other area and was considered the area most proper for expressive activity.

An examination of the Relational orientation for the Vietnamese in our three hamlets shows a high proportion of formalized commitments in economic and business affairs and also in government and community activities.

Table III-2 demonstrates how value orientations vary according to demographic characteristics. In reading the table, a number of important considerations should be kept in mind. When the symbol ++ is used, that particular characteristic was the most predominant of the five possible positions (three value positions,

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uncommitted, or variable), although the remaining four may have been present in varying degrees. The symbol $\ddagger$ indicates that the characteristics so marked were equally strong for that particular demographic variable. The symbol $\dagger$ means that there was a strong tendency to cite this characteristic but not to the same degree as ++ or $\ddagger$. Any category containing an $\bigcirc$ is noteworthy because that particular characteristic was totally absent. Finally, any value orientation with no symbol in any of the five boxes indicates that there was no strong preference for any of those five characteristics.

Communications Findings

Formal Communications

Eleven media were mentioned as being attended to in the hamlets: radio, loudspeakers, newspapers, speeches, magazines, posters, leaflets, television, live entertainment, government movies, and commercial movies. Overall, it should be noted that a substantial portion of the population can be reached with available media.

Media Saturation and Content. Saturation was measured in terms of number of people reached and frequency of exposure. It is apparent that within the current pattern of media usage, radio is alone in reaching these people on a broad and frequent basis. Over eighty-five per cent of the sample were exposed to it almost daily. Loudspeakers and newspapers, although far behind radio, achieve next greatest saturation. There is a significant dropoff before the next medium and all others diminish rapidly after that. Radio Saigon is heard by the preponderant majority; the radio at Dinh Tuong is listened to by a few, and the service radio at Saigon has very few listeners. Newspaper saturation is only about a fifth of that achieved by radio. Four newspapers were listed as frequently read (all of which were printed in Saigon; there was no local newspaper at My Tho).

On the radio, Vietnamese music, particularly traditional music, was listened to by far the largest proportion of radio listeners (77%). It is of some interest to note that Binh Dinh had somewhat more modern tastes. News, which

Table III-2. VARIATIONS IN VALUES BY DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Demographic Variables		Man-Nature					Time					Activity					Relational				
		Submission	Dominance	Harmony	Uncommitted	Variable	Traditional	Situational	Goal-Oriented	Uncommitted	Variable	Achievement	Expressive	Inner-Development	Uncommitted	Variable	Formalistic	Peer-Oriented	Individualistic	Uncommitted	Variable
Sex	Male		╫					╫	+		╫										
	Female	○					‡	‡													
Age	Youth		‡				○	‡			╫										
	Young Adult	‡	‡				○	‡				‡									
	Adult	╫	○	‡			‡					‡					‡				
	Mature Adult	‡	○	‡		‡	╫					‡	○				‡				
Education	Low		+				‡														
	Middle		‡					‡			+										
	High	○	╫	○			○	‡	+		+										
Occupation	Students																				
	Farmers																				
	Laborers																				
	Soldiers		‡																		
	Teachers		‡	○																	
	Civil Servants		‡	○																	

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KEY: Value Orientation:

╫ Predominant
‡ Predominance equally shared
+ Strong but not predominant
○ Absent

No symbol in any of the five cells
   means equal emphasis on all five
Uncommitted—no commitment to
   any orientation
Variable—no consistent commitment

NOTE: Since no significant correlations were
found between the Human Nature ori-
entation and demographic variables,
it was eliminated from this table.

took a secondary position to music (11%), was attended to by two to three times as many respondents in Binh Dinh as in Thanh Duc or Binh Hanh. Among newspaper topics, fiction and news are cited most frequently, with Binh Dinh most interested in news and far less interested in fiction than either of the remaining communities. Indeed, as many Binh Dinh respondents preferred editorials as preferred fiction. The relatively large "other" category of choice in Binh Dinh has not been further analyzed, but it is not unlikely that religious news may account for many of its entries. Humor takes second place in Binh Hanh and Thanh Duc but is less commonly cited by the respondents in Binh Dinh. Binh Hanh showed some interest in scientific news, Binh Dinh somewhat less, and Thanh Duc none.

The more sober tastes of Binh Dinh, with its greater focus on news and religion, emerge in contrast to the relatively greater focus on music and fiction in Binh Hanh and Thanh Duc.

Credibility of Various Media. People were asked how accurate they considered the various media to be. Radio, magazines, and leaflets received a substantial number of "fairly accurate" ratings; newspapers were rated the least accurate of the media, although they received more ratings of "accurate" than of "fairly accurate." Hamlet officials' speeches were almost invariably rated as very accurate. No medium was considered totally inaccurate. Hamlet to hamlet variability with respect to trust of the information and news supplied in each medium showed Binh Dinh to be more questioning of the radio, Binh Hanh of the newspapers, and Thanh Duc of speeches and magazines; this variability indicates that blanket use of mass media for the dissemination of news and information is likely to be met with different degrees of receptivity in different communities.

Audience Characteristics. Data were analyzed to compare demographic characteristics with media preferences; the results indicate that:

1. Less than twenty per cent of the population report reading printed materials;

2. Most people listen to the radio, and people listen to radio in about equal numbers regardless of age and sex; the better educated tend to listen more, but differences are not significant;

3. Those who do read are, for the most part, young males;

4. For those who read newspapers, chances are about even that they will read magazines and books as well; with almost no exceptions those who do not read newspapers do not read magazines or other written materials either.

Within the ranges of education in these hamlets, most of the population has not received enough education to gain minimal reading proficiency.

Informal Communications

Key figures, or those having clear roles and functions in the community, such as village or hamlet chiefs, religious leaders, teachers, merchants, popular forces, etc., are generally approached for information related to their roles; religious figures gave religious information, teachers gave cultural information, merchants gave economic information, village and hamlet chiefs and Information Services Cadre dispensed political information, and drivers and returning travelers gave security information.

Credibility of the information gleaned from these sources varied considerably and appears to be related to the inherent prestige of the roles themselves, prestigious figures being more readily believed. The information sources used by these key figures also vary, apparently in relation to role functions; merchants received information from other merchants, government persons from government sources, etc.

In almost all cases, word-of-mouth was the primary source of information (with direct observation having considerable importance in matters of security). Information Services Cadre alone were seen as using mass media as a source. Still, this source was far second to word-of-mouth.

Communications networks by letter were apparently undeveloped, and this medium was reportedly used almost exclusively within the family and for family business.

Notes on Comparative Influence

It is apparent that word-of-mouth media are extremely important sources of news; few people cite listening to news in mass media. The "official" government source, the Information Services Cadre, is seldom consulted. The political, military, religious, and economic figures are the most frequently consulted. The village and hamlet chiefs, religious leaders, and teachers are regarded as most credible, and the information flow through the chain of sources associated with merchants and tradesmen is regarded as less credible.

It should be noted that in two of the three communities (Catholic and Cao Dai), the religious leader controlled the hamlet popular forces, an indication of the great influence potential held by this position in hamlet society. The power of religious leaders is especially strong in the Catholic community, where the church is more of a center for the social life of the community and plays a stronger role in the community than does the temple in Buddhist and Cao Dai communities.[27]

Some Limitations of the Data

In the remainder of this report, applications and implications for psychological operations programs of the data summarized above are discussed. A critical question, therefore, is the extent to which the findings in this study are generalizable beyond the specific populations from which the data were collected. While the question cannot be answered definitively from our data, there is suggestive evidence from the similarities among the three hamlets and agreement of the study findings with the conclusions of other investigators.

The demography among the three hamlets is similar. And while inhabitants of these hamlets are better off financially, their other demographic characteristics are similar to those reported in HSR's studies of refugee families. Demographic

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[27]For more information on this point, see Sternin, et al., op. cit., pp. 75 ff.

data collected in this study, in HSR's studies of refugees in Phu Yen and Dinh Tuong provinces,[28,29] and Hendry's study of Khanh Hau,[30] follow a similar pattern.

Communication patterns and media credibility exhibit moderate variations from hamlet to hamlet. The role of religion as an institution and the involvement of religious leaders in political and military affairs was greater in Catholic and Cao Dai hamlets than in the Buddhist hamlet. These findings may be common throughout the Delta, but the three comparisons provided here cannot be regarded as conclusive.

Value orientations between hamlets were quite similar, with one exception, the Cao Dai hamlet. To some extent, value orientations appear compatible with accounts by other investigators. Hendry's description of the failure of the rural co-ops for reason of a lack of cooperative spirit, and the interpretations by Hickey[31] and Fitzgerald[32] appear to be much in line with our data. However, it is to be noted that conclusions of many current writers on Vietnamese culture seem more in keeping with value patterns of the _older_ Vietnamese than with those of the fifteen-to-nineteen-year age groups. Two hypotheses which are not mutually exclusive are tenable: (a) a significant change in the culture could be occurring, and (b) value shifts occur as Vietnamese become older.

Relationships between our findings here and in Phu Yen province, and Fitzgerald's and Mus's observations about the Vietnamese culture, suggest that these findings will apply reasonably well to other ethnic Vietnamese in the Delta. Inter-hamlet variations will likely be found in social organization, the role of religion, and communications habits.

[28] A. Terry Rambo, Jerry M. Tinker, and John D. LeNoir. The Refugee Situation in Phu-Yen Province, Viet-Nam (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., July 1967, HSR-RR-67/9-Aa).

[29] Jerry M. Tinker. The Refugee Situation in Dinh Tuong Province - Field Research Memorandum No. 6 (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc.,

[30] James B. Hendry. The Small World of Khanh Hau (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964).

[31] Hickey, op. cit.

[32] Frances Fitzgerald. "The Struggle and the War: The Maze of Vietnamese Politics," The Atlantic (August 1967), pp. 72-87.

Discussion of applications of values data to the Chieu Hoi Program (see Chapter V) necessarily assumes that value orientations of Viet-Cong are similar to those reported here. This is still an assumption without supporting data. No conclusions are warranted about non-ethnic Vietnamese tribes. These reservations about the generalizability of this data should be borne in mind in the discussions of applications of the findings in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER IV:

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE USES OF CULTURAL DATA IN A PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS PROGRAM

The ways in which information about a culture can be used in psychological operations are not always evident. In an attempt to illustrate how a psychological operator might apply information such as that presented in the prior chapter in making plans, selecting issues, generating themes and messages, and selecting communications media, we have created a hypothetical situation similar to one that might confront a person working in psychological operations. We describe the situation and the role of the psychological operator and assume that he has the information reported in the previous chapter. We then indicate how he might use these data in his work. The specific situation is fictitious, but the information used is that collected in this study about demography, values, and communications practices. While this particular situation may never be encountered, the way of approaching the problems presented can be employed in numerous other real-life situations.

The Illustrative Scenario

You have been assigned to work with a province chief and his psychological operations staff in carrying out psychological operations in a province in the Mekong Delta. The area is diverse. It includes the province capital (the only city in the province) and numerous small villages and hamlets where most of the population lives. Most of the people are rice farmers, owning their own land, renting it, or working it for someone else. There is some small-scale industry primarily related to agricultural activity, such as rice milling and the production of nuoc mam. There are a number of service-related activities carried on by merchants in the province, Lambretta drivers, teachers and civil servants.

While most of the people in the province practice a mixture of Buddhism and ancestor worship, scattered segments are Catholic, Hoa Hao and Cao Dai.

Most of the people are natives of the province, although recent military operations have produced a large influx of refugees from other provinces, and from some of the more insecure areas within the province.

The GVN controls about three-quarters of the area, at least during daylight hours, and the rest is contested or under Viet-Cong control. Security is good enough that roads are open throughout most of the province although many areas are considered insecure for government officials, military and Americans. Military operations have resulted in the particularly difficult problem of separated families.

A new province chief has been appointed. He seems to be both dynamic in his thinking and practical, although you sense that many of his ideas may not coincide with those of the average person in the countryside. You know that you must work with the province chief and his psychological operations staff to help generate popular support for him and his programs. You recognize that your task is difficult because you will wish to bring ideas and suggestions to his attention without leaving yourself open to the criticism of meddling in province domestic affairs. To avoid this pitfall, as well as to create a Vietnamese capability for carrying out effective psychological operations programs, you will work closely with your Vietnamese counterparts.

When you were assigned to the province to advise on psychological operations, your instructions and duties were only generally defined. You were told that your tasks were to carry out psychological operations to weaken the Viet-Cong operating in the area, and to stimulate the nation-building process by gaining popular support for the national government, its representatives, and its programs.

You decide that your major psychological operations objective is to help bring about a rapport--a sense of unity--between the people and the provincial and national governments. While not wishing to build support for any one individual, you want to help create an awareness on the part of the people that the government of the province and that of the country wants to help them. This goal has a number of interrelated objectives. First, you want to help the Vietnamese psychological operations staff present an image of the province chief to the people in such a way

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that the people will feel a personal identity between themselves and him. This may be accomplished by showing that his personality, his likes and dislikes, and his actions are in keeping with commonly held Vietnamese values. Second, but concurrently, the province chief needs to define a role for his position and make this role evident to the people. This role should show that he and his staff want to know the needs of the people, and are attempting to help the people both through province administration and by representing the interests and desires of the people to the national government. In this way, the people will be encouraged to identify the province chief and his staff as part of a governmental process that represents and wants to help the people.

In order to accomplish these objectives, you need to support various programs that will highlight the similarity between the province chief and the people and that will demonstrate the importance of his role in the governmental process for helping the people. Based on the information you have about the people in your province (the data presented in Chapter III), your specific tasks will be to advise the province chief and his psychological operations staff in:

- selecting and emphasizing those characteristics of the province chief's personality that are most in keeping with the value orientations of the people;

- helping to decide how specific programs should be analyzed and emphasized so that they have the most relevance for the people;

- determining what themes about these programs should be generated for a number of different audiences;

- determining what media may best be used to reach the people of the province as a mass audience, and specific groups within it.

Throughout your work, you want to keep in mind the fact that each of the specific tasks is being undertaken in support of the overall objectives to get the people and the government on the same side.

Projecting the Image of the Province Chief

One of your first tasks will be to assist the Vietnamese psychological oper- ations team in presenting an image of the province chief to the people by carefully selecting those aspects of his character and personality that are likely to appeal to audiences throughout the province. Everything that is said about him must be true, although what is said will emphasize those facets of his personality and those ac- tions which are most apt to have popular appeal. You and your Vietnamese counter- parts must work closely with the province chief to help display those acts which will create and validate an image which is not only popularly accepted, but also in keeping with his role as a successful administrator.

You will probably want to see to it that the province chief is pictured as a man who can work harmoniously with many different kinds of people, as a man who always sees some good in everyone. You want to show that while he expects people to meet their promises and carry out their obligations, he is not unreasonable and he recognizes that conditions sometimes keep people from doing so. He is re- spectful of teachers and religious leaders not only because of their wisdom, but also because he, as well as they, have an important role in stressing correct be- havior. As an administrator, it should be explained that he is persistent, patient with people's shortcomings and with temporary delays, but that he works with dedi- cation toward fulfilling selected objectives.

You will want the people in the province to see the province chief as a person who recognizes that people have a right to expect a degree of control over their own lives. He and his staff should be seen as instruments which allow and facilitate this control. In his role as province chief, he should be viewed as an extension of the people, helping them to influence conditions around them. His acceptance and encouragement of innovation in agriculture, business and other fields whose worth has been proven, should be pointed out as representing exten- sions of existing methods for controlling one's environment. The innovations he encourages will probably be on a local basis so that benefit will come directly to the individuals involved.

The province chief's past record of responding immediately to situations as they arise should be stressed. As a catalyst in a process, he seeks to take advantage of those positive factors of the situation which are most pertinent to his problems. In spite of his view that matters should be dealt with on the basis of needs of the moment, he has respect for tradition and the customary ways of the people. He is not a man to tear down a fence until he knows why it was built. He is respectful of, and participates in, traditional ceremonies of national and local origin.

You and your psychological operations staff should show that the province chief is a man of action. He is concerned with the forms of his actions as well as the results. He shows concern for the needs of major groupings such as farmers, businessmen, and youth, as well as for the needs of individuals of different social status, and he makes sure his staff helps these people get results. In this way, he and his staff are helping others to achieve a degree of influence over their environment. The province chief is also a man of taste. In social situations he is concerned with behaving properly and keeping the Vietnamese manners and traditions.

The province chief should be shown to be respectful of others. He does not criticize the authority of those in higher positions nor does he constrain the appropriate exercise of authority by his subordinates. When he feels he cannot approve of a decision made by his superiors, he does not reflect this disapproval openly through words but rather through his manner in social contexts. His careful and selective choice of friends and those with whom he associates in public appearances should be made known. In his role as an administrator, he must delegate authority in ways which the people respect and at the same time so that problems can be disposed of as they arise. As a government official, his acts make it evident that he has the power to delegate authority and he takes great pains to bring about harmony among those to whom authority is delegated. He does not believe that the government should take authority away from those who exercise it. He is especially concerned that the province government should not encroach on the interests of the entrepreneur.

Generating Themes

You have met with the new province chief and his psychological operations staff to discuss some of the ways in which you could support the government's efforts. He indicated that many programs were being considered, some of which might be more easily understood by the public than others. Among those which had already cleared the proper channels were a vocational training program and a family reunification program.

Your discussion led to the conclusion that public receptivity should be encouraged by means of appropriate publicity, both before and during the program's implementation period. You agreed to develop a core of themes and messages with these aims in mind. The task of presenting these programs in a favorable way is very much like the task of presenting a favorable image of the official himself. It requires the selection and display of those aspects of the program which are supported by broadly held values.

Vocational Training Program. Saigon has given approval for initiating a vocational training program in the province, and the province chief wants you and his psychological operations staff to help him generate popular support for the program. Saigon has also indicated that it wants the province chief to implement and support a program aimed at reuniting families separated by military operations and to make the government's role evident in the process. Although it is not clear at this time how this program ties in with existing Chieu Hoi and refugee programs, it is clear that psychological operations support will be required in any case.

In discussing ways in which themes and messages can be generated for these two programs, you consult with the province chief and your Vietnamese counterparts to discuss what can be done and what assistance is needed. While the themes for both programs will reflect what you know about the Vietnamese in your province, the themes will have to be tied into the overall program, i.e., into things the province chief can make happen.

The general themes to be employed must be agreed on first by the province chief and his psychological operations personnel before specific messages are

written. When it comes time to actually write the messages, they must be so constructed as to fit in with the realities of the present situation. Also, to the extent that the messages tap traditional beliefs and values as well as events in the history of the country which can be used as precedents, you will need to work with his staff in selecting the values you want to tap and the events you want to employ.

Once the messages are constructed, you and your Vietnamese counterparts together will have to translate the messages into the language or dialect found in your province. These messages should then be pretested on a group similar to the one to whom you plan to beam the message in the province. From the pretest, you may learn that some modifications in wording are necessary. The omission of any one of these steps may weaken the impact of your appeal.

Once you, the province chief and his psychological operations staff have agreed on the steps to be taken, you must undertake a careful analysis of the programs to determine what values are relevant to them, which of these should be emphasized, and which may present problems.

In examining the vocational training program, you know that the Vietnamese are highly achievement oriented in the field of business. By showing how vocational training provides economic opportunity, you are able to relate the training program to a basic value orientation. Since youth generally would prefer to exert a degree of control over their environment, it would be useful to indicate how this training will give the individual a greater ability to exercise control over his environment. The fact that youth are interested in the self-expression aspect of activities may either hurt or help in selling the program, depending upon other factors discussed later.

There are a number of weaknesses inherent in such a program. One of these stems from the fact that most of the Vietnamese have low future orientations, and a program emphasizing training has a strong element of the future or planning in it. Another problem arises from the fact that the youth are more dominance oriented than their elders concerning man's relation to his environment. Also, the youth are more concerned about self-expression than are their elders, who seek achievement. Somewhat different themes, therefore, must be designed for youth and older people.

Now that you have discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the program as a whole, you and your counterparts set out to prepare a number of themes, variations of which will be directed to the elders and some to the youth or potential trainees.

One major theme might indicate that the times call for vocational training. To the older group you would want to stress that the times appear to be changing. Traditionally and historically, when times have changed in similar ways, people have adjusted to them in this way. Here you might want to cite a few historical examples to show precedents.

To the youth or potential trainees it might be good to explain how in changing times people need to adjust to the needs of the day. Vocational training equips people to "stay loose," to meet changing conditions as they arise. Vocational training is what is needed now.

Another major theme might stress vocational training as a source of satisfaction. For the elders, you would want to show how vocational training pays off. It should be shown that this training will increase the income of the family so that the family will be wealthier. Making the family wealthier supports the family as an institution.

The younger people should be shown vocational training lets them "swing with it." It gives them a variety of ways to express themselves and it permits them to utilize more fully their talents in self-expression. You should point out that the training and the jobs available to them because of the training will allow them to live more actively and to be a part of things.

The third major theme that you and your counterparts develop emphasizes how vocational training provides an appropriate way to deal with life. Again, when considering the older group, you will want to stress the fact that vocational training will let their children react more easily and adjust better to situations. The training will give their children the ability to achieve and prosper in spite of changing situations. The youth should be shown how this training will provide them with ways of exercising more control over their environment.

Each of these themes must tie in with your overall objective of getting the people and the government on the same side. There are many ways of showing that by sponsoring vocational training, the government is giving the people better opportunities. There is, however, the danger of overstressing the point. The government, through providing this training program, is shown as providing the opportunities and advantages described above. You might want to document these advantages by showing graduates of similar training programs in other areas in responsible government jobs, or jobs in new industries being sponsored by the government.

The Program for Reuniting Families. The program of reuniting families presents a different set of problems from those of vocational training. In many respects, family reunification is more complex. Initially, it appears easier to "sell" because of its central objectives of strengthening an institution highly respected in the Orient. The psychological satisfactions associated with family reunification are immediately felt by all members. You know that the concept of the importance of the family traditionally has been strong in the society. In some respects, a returning member of the family can, if he becomes involved in the family's source of income, add economic benefits which are easily seen and quickly felt.

You also realize that there are some difficult problems which must be overcome by your psychological operations support o₁ family reunification. The basis of these difficulties lies in the fundamental differences in values held by the youth and their elders. Once the reunification of the younger members with the family is achieved, conflicts over these value differences are likely to arise. These conflicts will probably revolve around such issues as sources of satisfaction. You know that the older people favor the types of activities in which they can experience a sense of achievement, whereas the youth are much more interested in those activities which provide them with a sense of self-expression.

You are also aware that conflict may arise over the different ways in which the two groups react to situations as they arise. For example, the older people are more likely to feel there is little they can do to change events. To interpret these events they would probably be guided by how such situations were handled in

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the past. On the other hand, the youth are much more likely to become involved with a problem for the sake of involvement. Rather than relying on traditional methods of attacking the problem, they are more likely to examine it to see what the implications of it are for the moment.

Another source of conflict may be the way in which the older people approach the problem of decisions. They may seek the respected members of the community who have the authority to make decisions. Within the family, the elders are likely to feel that the authority for deciding family affairs rests in the older members. The youth are more inclined to decide things on their own.

Your job in working with the province chief to gain support for the family reunification program will actually involve easing the accommodation process between the young and the old. You will want to convince the older groups to offer opportunities for the young to find satisfaction. You will also want to get the co-operation of the respected figures in the hamlet such as the village and hamlet chiefs, the religious leaders, and teachers, since these are the people to whom the elders will turn for advice when family problems arise.

Therefore, the themes you and your counterparts will want to stress will be aimed primarily at getting the older people to provide opportunities for the young. The approach is to show that support of the youth's tendencies is both profitable and appropriate.

A major theme in support of this idea might be that family unity provides an appropriate way for dealing with life. For the elders, you would want to stress the fact that giving their children an active role in the family's business activities will be profitable. Also, mentioning that having a returning son "follow in his father's footsteps" will perpetuate the family interest. Themes directed at the youth should emphasize the idea that business activity is a good way to gain some control over one's own life. Another general theme might be that family unity can be a source of satisfaction. The older audience might be told that their children's participation in community affairs is good for family interest, prestige and particularly business.

For the youth, an appropriate theme might focus on the idea that representing the family's interests in the community is a challenging and exciting thing to do. It might also be good to point out that representing the family's interest is an appropriate response to today's needs. Behavior must change as situations change.

The role of the government throughout the program must be seen but only in the background. Government support of families is a good theme in itself, and therefore your messages should be tied to supportive actions already undertaken. You would want to present human interest stories each time a family is reunited. These tangible results should go a long way to creating a popular appreciation of the government's role.

The government can also help in the accommodation process between the youth and elders by supporting the youth's activities in the community. The local Information Cadre and the RD Teams can all play a role in getting local key figures to support the activities of the youth. These key figures should be close to the people and individuals whom the government can help.

Choosing Appropriate Communications Media

Once you have determined what themes would be most appropriate for gaining support for the programs of vocational education and reuniting families, you need to decide what media would be most effective in disseminating your messages.

You know that radio is the best medium for reaching the mass audience, both those who are illiterate and those who can read. Generally speaking, the only way to reach the older segments of the population by mass media is through the radio. Since the types of radio programs most listened to are those carrying classical music, messages interspersed before or after such programs are more apt to be heard. The one drawback with radio is that since there are few local stations, most people listen to Radio Saigon. Consequently, if messages are to be conveyed by radio, arrangements will have to be made at the national level. The people in your province will also need to be alerted (possibly by Information Services Cadre,

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or by others who travel around the province quite frequently, such as peddlers and Lambretta drivers) as to when broadcasts will occur.

Newspapers, magazines and leaflets will reach only a select minority audience. This audience will consist essentially of the young and educated and those older people who need to read and write in order to conduct their affairs. This older audience is likely to consist of teachers, businessmen and perhaps some religious leaders. However, even with the minority group, the average educational level will be quite low. Consequently, messages will have to be written in fairly simple language, perhaps supported by picture illustrations where possible.

It would seem appropriate to have some locally printed materials produced and distributed. Perhaps the services of a talented member of the Vietnamese psychological operations staff could be employed in writing the messages in the form of a serial novel, which was found to be the type of material most often read. Again, it will be important to divide your reading audience into two groups, the young and the old. The themes you have already developed with the province chief and his psychological operations staff will determine the nature of the specific message beamed to each age group.

Your data indicate that of the various types of radio programs and newspapers and magazine articles offered, the people prefer those emphasizing entertainment such as serial novels, drama, and music. You conclude, therefore, that if you could get entertainment troupes out into the countryside, they might have considerable popular appeal. If you could weave your psychological operations themes into plays and skits, they would probably be favorably received. Another advantage of the use of entertainment troupes is that student participation could be encouraged. Students, because they are generally expressive oriented, are likely to be willing to participate.

You know there are both strengths and weaknesses of using media such as radios and printed material. While these media, particularly radios, will reach a large audience, generally people consider this information less reliable than that obtained in face-to-face situations. By making use of face-to-face contacts and word-of-mouth communications, you not only make your message more credible,

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you also bring the government into greater personal contact with the people of the province. However, a drawback of face-to-face contacts is that it is more difficult to control the message content. Therefore, a greater effort will be required to organize and maintain such control.

Your advice to the province chief would probably be that he and his administrative staff should seek out specific individuals when traveling around the province. The types of people to whom most of the villagers turn for information are the village and hamlet chiefs, teachers and religious leaders. The tasks involved here are to determine how to use these individuals to best advantage, to familiarize them with the appeals to be used and to motivate them to participate in the program. There are other people who have contacts with a wide audience, although these individuals may not be highly respected for their opinions. Such people as merchants, peddlers and Lambretta drivers come into contact with many people and might be used to disseminate information about when radio programs of particular interest were being aired and when entertainment troupes were coming to an area.

In order to utilize these informal, face-to-face means of communications, you will want to encourage the province chief to take his staff out to the countryside to meet with the people. Your objective here is not only to have messages explained to those who in turn will explain them to others, but also to create a sense of identity between the people and their government of which the province chief and his staff are extensions. Consequently, while it is important to help the people, it is equally important that the works of the administration be known and interpreted. This is a responsibility of all the members of the administration and the psychological operations team.

When the province chief and his staff visit various areas, it will be important to work through local official leaders such as district, village, and hamlet chiefs. By so doing, the province chief is demonstrating to the people that these local officials possess a degree of authority which passes through him to them in their role as local functionaries. The people should associate their local leaders with the government process rather than identifying the individual apart from his role as a member of the government.

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The province chief and his staff should attempt to set up links as continu-
ing contacts with counterparts at local levels to help implement the psychological
operations program. For example, when the province chief's team goes into a
village, it would be a good idea for the province representative responsible for
education to meet with the teachers to explain the importance of aspects of the vo-
cational education program. The province representative for refugee affairs might
seek out refugee groups to discuss both the vocational training and family reunifi-
cation program. That official responsible for cultural affairs might contact the
local religious leaders and teachers to explain the implications of the program.
In all cases you will want the province chief's staff to motivate these people to par-
ticipate in and to maintain the programs. The importance of significant aspects of
the programs should be presented in such a way that they appeal to the varied in-
terests of your key communicators.

Finally, in working with key individuals at the local level, provision needs
to be made for feedback information as to how the psychological operations programs
are getting across. These key individuals are in a position not only of telling others
about your programs but also of telling the province officials how the programs are
being received by the people.

Throughout our hypothetical situation we have been demonstrating how a
person engaged in psychological operations can make use of the findings on values,
demographic information, and communications in the analysis of various audiences
to whom appeals are to be directed, what themes these appeals should emphasize,
and what channels of communications might be used in disseminating specific mes-
sages. Obviously, much additional information would be needed and plans for im-
plementation would vary from province to province. What we have tried to do here
is to show, by the device of a hypothetical example, some of the specific uses to
which cultural information might be put in psychological operations.

CHAPTER V:

THE APPLICATION OF STUDY FINDINGS
IN PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

The preceding chapter illustrated uses of findings obtained in this study to support selected psychological operations objectives. In the present chapter, the potential use of the study findings in a wide range of other psychological operations applications is discussed.

Implications for the National Psychological Operations Plan

Knowledge of value orientations can be of assistance to those responsible for preparing guidance for psychological operations. The generic goals of psychological operations guidance are determined primarily by the nature of the conflict. But the tactics of selecting themes--the general lines of approach--need to be predicated on the feelings and value orientations of the recipients of our messages.

For an example of the applicability of values information, we turn to the National Psychological Operations Plan, first issued by the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO) in March 1966 and reissued in 1967 with minor changes. It should be noted that what follows is not an attempt to evaluate JUSPAO guidance, per se, but rather to illustrate how values information could be used in preparing such guidance.

It is assumed that the wording of psychological operations guidance is not intended to be translated literally into psychological operations themes and appeals, but that psychological operators must make the necessary translations in terminology. Furthermore, while this example refers to only one paragraph rather than to the Plan as a whole, it should serve to illustrate the applicability of values data to such guidance documents.

The paragraph from the Plan quoted below is examined in terms of the educational level it presumes of audiences, its regard for the sensibilities of the

Vietnamese, and its compatibility with belief systems of rural Vietnamese. The paragraph reads as follows:

> Convince them [the people] that the fledgling Republic of Vietnam reflects the natural and naturally imperfect process of historical change and development toward a distinctly Vietnamese but modern revolutionary society, offers to each Vietnamese opportunity to advance within it, and to influence the course of the revolution, and this represents the only true and realistic hope for the advancement of national and personal aspirations. [33]

Educational Level Presumed

Approximately ninety per cent of the rural Vietnamese population has not gone beyond the sixth grade. The average educational level is the third grade and that of the mature adult audience is lower still. We suggest that the concept of a "natural but naturally imperfect process of historical change" is likely to be unintelligible to the average Vietnamese. The concept is essentially a Western European evolutionary concept of government which has little counterpart in Oriental political philosophy which views changes in political systems as cyclical rather than developmental.

Vietnamese Sensibilities

The adjective "fledgling" is derogatory of the Vietnamese. "Fledgling," according to Webster, means "a young bird just fledged; an immature or inexperienced person." To Americans, the Republic of Vietnam is a fledgling in many ways. But one suspects that educated Vietnamese who can point to a cultural history that antedates Columbus's discovery of the American Continent by more than a thousand years would resent this condescending attitude from Americans. The Vietnamese have always had, and retain to this day, a strong pride in their cultural heritage.

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[33] U. S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (Headquarters). "National Psychological Operations Plan." Memorandum from MACPD, 4 March 1966 (Ser. No. 1858), p. 9.

Compatibility with Value Orientations

The concepts underlying this guidance may reflect more American values than those of the Vietnamese. A content analysis of the above excerpt reveals that there are three underlying cultural themes: future orientation, achievement, and individualistic decision-making. According to our findings, the lack of future orientation is outstanding among rural delta Vietnamese and virtually nonexistent with respect to political or community affairs. Their commitment is clearly situational, i.e., present oriented. This means that the benefits to be gained from support of the GVN would be more potently phrased in terms of the concrete present rather than the abstract future.

Achievement orientation is particularly high in the field of economics and business, but not, however, in the political field. Political striving is not viewed in terms of achieving goals for the people, but rather as oriented toward maintaining harmony, and for the satisfactions given by the process itself. According to these data, the Vietnamese would not readily see himself as realizing his aspirations through a strong national government. By attempting to gain popular support through this argument our appeals would probably fall on deaf ears. The implication of this is that the appeal should emphasize how the individual can better realize his own aspirations by supporting the GVN.

An orientation toward individualistic decision-making is present to a notable extent among Vietnamese, a finding not in keeping with the American stereotype of Asians. Thus, the above excerpt contains some elements which are not compatible with the value commitments of rural delta Vietnamese. Certain of the themes, in particular the stress on attainment of political end-states, are not likely to be readily accepted.

Based on our values orientation data, the following revision of the quoted paragraph is suggested:

> The present Republic of Vietnam is a revolutionary society
> in the stage of organizing all interests and groups so that
> each Vietnamese can have security, prosperity and enjoy-
> ment for himself and family. Cooperation with the Govern-
> ment of Vietnam brings these satisfactions to each individual.

Information about audiences and their culture can help prevent those charged with psychological operations guidance from falling into the trap of viewing others as we view ourselves. One can see, however, that a conflict may exist between particular values orientations and key objectives, creating a dilemma. Shall an objective be eliminated because it is incompatible with existing value orientations, or shall the objective still be pursued with the recognition that the effort to achieve it is contrary to existing beliefs? We suggest that the latter course is the only sensible one. But it should be recognized that much more guidance and research are apt to be needed in order to "swim upstream" successfully. To make the objective acceptable, new sets of beliefs or concepts must be developed or ways must be found to show that the objective is, in fact, consistent with, or instrumental to, existing values.

Summary

Information about audiences and their culture can serve as an input to psychological operations guidance documents which in turn can help operators to:

1. interpret objectives in terms of values of the audience;
2. avoid offending sensibilities of foreign nationals;
3. select themes and messages consistent with popular beliefs;
4. select most appropriate media;
5. be forewarned of problems to be encountered when objectives and indigenous beliefs conflict.

Implications for Psychological Operations in Support of Military Objectives--The Chieu Hoi Program

As stated earlier, the war in Vietnam is a two pronged effort: on the one hand GVN and Allied forces are trying to defeat the Viet-Cong; on the other hand, GVN and Allied forces are trying to build a strong and viable South Vietnam. The two tasks are not mutually exclusive, but the success of one does depend on the success of the other.

Psychological operations must support both goals. Consequently, one of the specific tasks for psychological operations is to wear down and demoralize the

enemy so as to encourage members of the Viet-Cong to surrender individually or collectively.

In the dynamic situation where the nature of the struggle is continually changing, problems of detecting and assessing enemy vulnerabilities and developing ways to exploit them are never-ending. The most thoroughly researched psychological operations program in RVN is the Chieu Hoi Program (a program aimed at inducing Viet-Cong to rally to the GVN). Discussed below are ways in which knowledge of value orientations may be used to infer criteria of relevance that Viet-Cong might apply to Chieu Hoi messages. Approaches that derive from this line of reasoning do not differ markedly from many already identified by research supporting the Chieu Hoi Program. But values information provides a somewhat different perspective and helps pinpoint areas for emphasis. The reasoning that follows can be derived from the values data without resort to program-specific studies which are equally necessary.

Based on the value orientations data, it is difficult to understand why the Vietnamese have been characterized throughout their long history as revolutionary zealots. The values data indicate that the willingness to work and sacrifice for a distant future political state predicated on abstract concepts of justice is out of character for most of the typical peasants of the Mekong Delta. Their <u>low goal orientation or future orientation</u> precludes this. They are, however, a very xenophobic people who have through history demonstrated their intense hatred of any foreign intrusion in their personal affairs. Undoubtedly, it is for this reason that the Viet-Cong fight so strongly against the U.S.-backed GVN. However, for the lowly Viet-Cong recruit it seems more probable that beyond the mere hatred of the U.S., they are drawn to the Viet-Cong because of the possibilities for increased status in their villages and hamlets, and perhaps, for the excitement and prestige of having a gun.

Some of the implications of the values data for possible approaches to the Viet-Cong and their followers are listed below:

1. Where possible, arguments should be chosen that are inherent in the nature of the situation, and which the antagonist cannot readily counter by ruse or counterargument. Salient

among these situational factors is the arrest of Viet-Cong progress. From 1960 to mid-1965, the Viet-Cong cause was building strength and winning. The Viet-Cong could promise victory in the near future and reinforce their promises with victories. Now, they must adjust their promises to a long-term perspective or lose credibility. This is a prospect which could not be welcomed by a Vietnamese with his high present orientation. As the prospects for a Viet-Cong victory decline, there are fewer opportunities to create a sense of accomplishment among the rank and file Viet-Cong. Pessimism and demoralization can be expected to increase because the Viet-Cong will have greater difficulties in satisfying the high achievement orientation of its members.

Situational factors of the kind discussed above present a logical dilemma to political cadres of the Viet-Cong responsible for morale. If they choose to lengthen the time perspective of their appeals, the appeal becomes less attractive. If they do not, their promises stand to lose credibility. US/GVN psychological operations should be able to exploit this situation whichever choice the Viet-Cong make.

2. The poorer prospects the Viet-Cong can now offer might well be sharply contrasted with the better opportunities the GVN can now provide. Here, advantage could be taken of the high situational orientation of the Vietnamese and his high economic achievement orientation. Allied propaganda extolling participation in a glorious new political state or the principle of land reform are not particularly salient. Nguyen wants an opportunity to better himself economically or to obtain a hectare of land--but he wants it now.

To make any promise credible, it must be carried out. Undoubtedly news of how Hoi Chanhs (ralliers in the Chieu Hoi Program) have been treated by the GVN travels rapidly to the Viet-Cong. Demonstrating to the Viet-Cong that their former members have been given opportunities which promise advancement should be a most salient appeal. The practical difficulties involved in rewarding former Viet-Cong are recognized but positive incentives are needed.

3. A strong individualistic orientation and a strong urge for expressiveness are notable in Vietnamese youth. There is some question as to how well they take to the authoritarian Viet-Cong organization which demands complete, unquestioning discipline. "Self criticism" sessions, in particular, seem inimical to Vietnamese values. The high individualistic, low cooperative orientation of Vietnamese seem completely antithetical to confessing errors in public and to being criticized

by one's peers. By appealing to the high individualistic, low cooperative orientation of Vietnamese youth, any incipient resentment of such Viet-Cong practices might be encouraged.

The above are examples of how Viet-Cong practices seem to conflict with traditional Vietnamese values. If these or similar conflicts can be found, they promise relatively permanent vulnerabilities since communists are loathe to alter fundamental doctrine.

4. Since man is viewed by Vietnamese as a mix of good and evil or as basically good, it is contradictory to paint the Viet-Cong as evil. Viet-Cong should be pictured as misled by their leaders. This is being done now in the Chieu Hoi Program, although many atrocity leaflets still reflect the all-evil theme. Such leaflets may be counterproductive in that they offend perhaps the most powerful medium that can be brought to bear on the Viet-Cong, namely, the families of those whom we wish to leave the Viet-Cong.

5. A number of arguments in current use to encourage rallying appear salient. Among these are the appeal to return home to family and to maintain the ancestral line (close-knit families, Buddhist and ancestor worship traditions) and examples of the power of US/GVN forces (high situational orientation). Promotion of the idea that GVN forces enjoy the sanction of the will of heaven might be useful. The timing of appeals to occur immediately after allied victories, coincident with air strikes, or natural disasters should greatly increase their saliency.

6. In view of the high present situational orientation, particularly in the political field, Vietnamese should not be reluctant to change sides or to "bend with the wind." If there is evidence of sufficient US/GVN strength or of a shift in favors from heaven, Vietnamese should shift their allegiance without compunctions of conscience. More information is needed as to which situational factors are most relevant to Viet-Cong decision logic, and how the will of heaven manifests itself, so that US/GVN forces can create the signs which show that the Viet-Cong have lost the blessing or have never even had it.

The importance of giving an enemy soldier an excuse by which he can justify his defection to himself is well recognized. Vietnamese would seem especially susceptible to arguments that they are forced to rally by situational factors. Such appeals may be more forceful than appeals which emphasize a voluntary act of will based on an "enlightened" view although the two arguments might well be mutually reinforcing.

7. The high credibility placed on face-to-face media suggests that appeals to Viet-Cong by family and former comrades would stand a much better chance of succeeding than appeals carried by mass media alone. The high economic achievement orientation and high situational orientation would suggest that paying ralliers to contact and bring in their friends in the Viet-Cong, or to members of the family of a Viet-Cong to persuade him to rally would work.

The above suggestions derive from our value findings and most are supported by recommendations from other sources. The purpose has been to illustrate how values information may help pinpoint salient approaches for psychological operations. Specific suggestions should be further developed and pretested prior to use.

Implications for Psychological Operations in Support of the Nation-Building Effort

The implications of findings described in Chapter III suggest that military concepts, organizations and functions designed for psychological war are not very well adapted to support the civil reconstruction efforts. These civil operations must go on at the same time as the combat effort and are necessary to ultimate success. In the present conglomerate of military and civil operations, several objectives pertaining to the civil sector can be identified together with the functions required of psychological operations. Psychological operations in connection with civil operations form the communications effort which:

1. assists in the reconstitution and strengthening of civil government at all levels; encourages and exploits a sense of responsibility by those in power; and inculcates a respect for government and military among the people;

2. helps to stimulate and support the growth of institutions and societal functions needed by the community: education, agriculture, markets, communications, transportation systems, public safety, religious institutions, etc.;

3. helps to eliminate vestiges of the underground resistance and the sentiment that supports them and to extend areas under government control;

4. helps to create rapport between all military forces and the civil population by: (1) advising on and helping to evaluate the impact of civil action, (2) being alert to careless or inadvertent actions by the military which show disrespect for the people.

5. advises commands with regard to the impact of alternative uses of military forces.

Our data raise substantive questions as to the efficacy of current psychological operations strategy of US/GVN military arms in meeting these goals. It is suggested that improvements could be brought about by:

1. greater emphasis on various forms of word-of-mouth communications, which are more credible than mass media-- mass media and leafleteering should be thought of as complementing other forms of communications;

2. greater use of indigenous forms--entertainment troupes, novels, Vietnamese opera, etc.--for psychological operations purposes;

3. stimulating organizations of local citizens groups--farmers, women, youth--groups who can be persuaded to subscribe to common purposes (organization of such groups can make word-of-mouth communications more controllable and more efficient--as two-way sources of communications, they can relay messages to families and friends as well as provide psychological operations intelligence);

4. greater emphasis on evaluating effects of psychological operations (testing and evaluation of alternatives in terms of their impact on audiences could provide information for a more effective strategy for psychological operations support of civil operations).

In order for psychological operations to help accomplish nation-building objectives, its organizations must be able to perform these functions:

1. Collect and make use of information

   a. about the culture, such as values information.

   b. about mass media, their popularity and credibility.

   c. about people and events at village, district and hamlet level.

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      d.   about key opinion leaders and local authority sources.

2.   Establish two-way communications channels consisting of:

      a.   informal media, including use of key communicators.

      b.   feedback provisions which draw information from local authorities and opinion leaders. Here psychological operations would work in close coordination with the intelligence staff.

      c.   making use of non-governmental organizations (labor unions, farmers' organizations).

Revolutionary Development Teams

In support of these specific nation-building tasks, the Revolutionary Development (RD) programs represent an attempt to extend and consolidate government control by bringing the government presence to rural areas. RD teams are dispatched to rural villages to conduct an eleven-step program. Their major tasks are to eliminate Viet-Cong underground elements, to dispose of or convert the bullies and racketeers in the area, to encourage and facilitate the growth of needed institutions, to initiate and encourage constructive enterprise, and to develop local groups to take over their functions when they depart. The teams face a critical and difficult task.

RD teams, like other nation-building efforts, need psychological operations support. In a broad sense, acts by government of dispatching teams to rural areas, and the actions of team members stationed there are psychological operations in themselves. For example, while helping to rebuild local communities, a central objective is to create a mental set--a feeling of pride in the community, willingness to defend it, and confidence in local and higher forms of government. Whatever else is accomplished, unless RD teams are able to do this, their efforts cannot be called successful. Psychological operations, then, include acts of team members, and oral and written communications designed to explain and support their mission. Illustrated below are ways in which data about Vietnamese value orientations can bear on certain missions of these teams. (While one of the authors has been briefed at the RD school at Vung Tau, we are not intimately familiar with how teams now operate in the field.)

Role of the Team; Interpreting How It Should
Be Perceived.

It is important initially to determine how the team should be perceived by the people. It must enter the hamlet as a representative of national government, affirming that it draws its authority from the government. But, its authority is translated into power through its ability to gain the willing support of the people. Consequently, in the beginning the RD team must refer to the national political system for its legitimacy, but in the longer run, the national government depends on RD teams to strengthen its influence by building respect and voluntary acceptance of the government's authority.

Application of Values Data to the RD Program

One of the specific tasks of the RD program is "to clear away the petty grievances and problems: the distrust and suspicions which exist in the hearts and minds of the hamlet people... understanding and cooperation must be re-established as a basis for community life... aspirations of the people must be understood and used as the basis for future development."[34]

Values data bear directly on two problems addressed here, the role of leadership in bringing about harmony and evidence of existing distrust. The RD team has a grievance committee. Values data indicate that the Vietnamese view the duty of political leaders as creating harmony. The function of the grievance committee therefore is especially important; the image of the teams will be enhanced by its prompt consideration of grievances and the acts it takes to remedy them. Once past grievances have been put to rest, it may be desirable to institute a permanent committee of hamlet elders to settle civil disputes while the team members address themselves to other problems.

Creation of trust among people who show a <u>low propensity to cooperate</u> is a problem the Viet-Cong have long recognized. The RD team must work against

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[34]Kriegel, Lt. Col. Richard C., "Revolutionary Development," <u>Marine Corps Gazette</u>, March 1967, 39-43.

and try to change traditional habits. Its primary initial objective is to develop a spirit of cooperation, an appreciation of the need for cooperative effort. Assuming this, the team should, at the outset, select tasks to be undertaken by team members and citizens together which can be used to show the advantages of cooperative effort. Note that the objectives of establishing habits of cooperation and supporting attitudes may require a different ordering of task priorities than would be the case if task priorities were predicated solely on economic needs. A spirit of cooperation will surely be required if the team is to successfully accomplish the critical fourth step of the eleven-task program--i.e., organization of the people's self-defense forces.

Other Applications

Additional applications of values data to RD team operatic ; follow. The importance of gaining the consent of key opinion leaders to these moves is emphasized.

1. It would be desirable for each team member to "adopt" or become personally acquainted with a few families in the hamlet so that the team would have a personal channel to each family. Not only would this be useful for security, each team member could be a psychological operations operator of sorts, explaining actions of the team, by word-of-mouth. Our data indicate the importance of the personal approach and of establishing trust on a personal basis. Furthermore, teachers, village elders, religious leaders, and others should be worked with closely because they are the respected members of the community who are in a position to explain to others the significance of particular actions and programs.

2. The primary assets of RD teams are their own hands and willingness to work. These assets, properly applied, may go further toward accomplishing team objectives than a wealth of physical resources. It is suggested that work designed to help the community should be negotiated to develop forms of cooperative effort and to assure that the local citizenry participates in all efforts. This principle has been emphasized in civic action programs. But lack of necessary local skills and the drive to fulfill assigned quotas tend to undermine the principle in practice. Community assistance tasks should be regarded primarily as

providing opportunities for developing a cooperative spirit; the team's presence and its contribution to these tasks should demonstrate the concern of the central government for the people. Building physical structures becomes, then, only a _means_ of accomplishing the central objectives. It is the evident effort shown by the team that matters; attempts to substitute material gifts for evidence of concern for the people stand to compromise the central objectives of assistance programs.

3. One requirement identified above is that the hamlet have potential for economic development. Attempts will likely be made to establish small enterprises. Our data showing a _high achievement motive_, a _high individualistic trend in business_, and a _low cooperative orientation_ suggest that the Vietnamese would be more receptive to individual ownership of small enterprises than to joint ownership.

4. Projects involving planning for the future should establish intermediate, easily realizeable, milestones of progress since with few exceptions the Vietnamese are _not future oriented._ Psychological operations should emphasize attainment of these milestones.

5. While the present order of steps of the RD program would appear reasonable from a military viewpoint, we question the delay in building such things as a school or a communal temple (now assigned to Phase II). Although, initially, the team may need to take punitive actions in a hamlet, it seems important that a positive contribution be made as soon as possible to show what it and the government stand for. A school--even if constructed of cheap materials--provides an instrumentality for gaining the support of families with school-age children and thus can serve as an entrée to these families.

6. It would seem that one of the most difficult problems the team must face is their transfer of power to the village. When the team goes into the village and works to eliminate the underground and the bullies and undertakes the rebuilding of the village, by its acts it has assumed power and authority. How then does the team effectively transfer its power to elected representatives of hamlet or village? Should the transfer be gradual, one function at a time, or all at once via local elections? What does the role of the team become vis-a-vis local officials once they have been elected? How does the team continue to stimulate the rebuilding process once it has relinquished its power to

local leaders so that it can go on to another community?
These are key problems. The objectives are largely psy-
chological. Psychological operations seem critical at the
interface between RD team leaders and local authorities.
Our information suggests no clear answers but these ques-
tions seem critically important.

Since the basic objective of RD team operations is psychological, psycho-
logical operations play a leading role throughout. First, there is the need to define
the priority of objectives for a given area and then to diagnose the impact of specific
plans and actions by the team on the people. There is the continuing need to inter-
pret to the populace the significance of the team's actions. Psychological opera-
tions, effectively used, can structure and shape the perceptions of the local people
in such a way that the team will be seen as a legitimate representative of govern-
ment. Later, psychological operations can clarify and interpret the transfer of
authority to local leaders. Throughout the process, the most powerful media may
be individual team members talking to families and key individuals within the
village, who will interpret their actions to others.

The Need for a Psychological Operations Program
for Young Males

The need for manpower everywhere, the decimation of the male popula-
tion in the twenty to forty age bracket, and the very high proportion of the total
male population now represented in the ten to nineteen year age group[35] all sug-
gest the vital need for a psychological operations program for young males. Its
objective is to win them to the government side to make full use of the resources
they represent. Such a program should be directed toward youth in contested and
Viet-Cong held areas as well as government held areas. Reportedly, a program
of recruitment exists now under GVN auspices although we know nothing of its par-
ticulars. Psychological operations in support of such a program is critical.

Data reported here can help to approach this audience. They indicate that
youth are more variable in value orientations than their elders, and hence, presumably

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[35]Rambo, et al., op. cit.

more susceptible to being influenced. Their attitudes differ from those of their parents. In each case, differences between young and old indicate, in the young, a departure from our American stereotype of the Oriental. The young tend to be more dominant, more individualistic, more expressive, and to have less faith in present political forms. Like their elders, they can be reached through mass media, but many can also be reached by the printed word. A psychological operations program in support of work to win over these youngsters should be a high priority effort.

Other Uses of Information on Value Orientations

The need for information about Vietnamese value orientations extends far beyond the needs of psychological operations planners and operators. All Americans who work with Vietnamese, and whose efforts are oriented toward nation-building objectives in Vietnam, need to become more conversant with the tacit assumptions, the criteria of relevance which Vietnamese habitually apply. Such knowledge should be helpful in planning mutual efforts, in establishing mutually agreed to end-states, in sensing constraints that Vietnamese may regard as relevant in proceeding to these end-states, and in getting results. We recommend that training be provided to Americans who work with Vietnamese in recognizing and taking into account their own value orientations and those of the Vietnamese with whom they work.

Recommendations for Further Study

Findings on value orientations reported here need to be extended as follows:

1. In addition to values presented here, Vietnamese concepts of causality should be measured.

2. Instruments used in this study should be refined and applied to other populations such as urban Vietnamese and POW's.

3. American value orientations should be measured and compared with those of Vietnamese. (See Parsons, et al., op. cit.)

4. The central proposition that psychological operations themes and messages compatible with audience value orientations are more apt to be understood than those that are incompatible needs to be evaluated for several different psychological objectives.

5. Additional study of credibility of media used in psychological operations is warranted.

APPENDIX

CONDENSATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

APPENDIX

CONDENSATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

Condensation of the Communications Questions

Part I. Mass Media

Radio

Do you ever listen to the radio?
Where do you usually listen?
Do you ever listen anywhere else? Where?
Have you listened to the radio in the past seven days?
     -How many times?
What stations do you listen to?
     -How frequently do you listen to each?
[For each station:] Do people generally consider the news and
     information broacast on Station _____ as accurate, fairly
     accurate, or inaccurate?
What kinds of programs do you listen to, and how frequently?
What kinds of programs do you like best? Why?
Do you discuss news and information you hear on the radio
     with anyone? Who?

Newspapers

Do you ever read newspapers, or have them read to you?
Where do you usually read them?
Do you ever read them anywhere else? Where?
Have you read a newspaper in the past seven days?
     -How many times?
What newspapers do you read?
     -How frequently do you read each?
[For each newspaper:] Do people generally consider the news
     and information in _____ as accurate, fairly accurate,
     or inaccurate?
Which newspaper do you like best? Why?
What kinds of articles do you usually read, and how frequently?
Do you discuss the news and information you read in the newspaper
     with anyone? Who?

Magazines

Do you ever read magazines or have them read to you?
Where do you usually read them?
Do you ever read them anywhere else? Where?
Have you read one in the past thirty days?
     -How many times?
What magazines do you read?
     -How frequently do you read each?
[For each magazine:] Do people generally consider the news
     and information in _____ as accurate, fairly accurate,
     or inaccurate?
What magazines do you like best? Why?
What kinds of magazine articles do you read, and how frequently?
What kind of article do you like best? Why?
Do you discuss the news and information you read in magazines
     with anyone? Who?

Government Movies

Do you ever go to see government-sponsored movies in your
     hamlet or nearby ones?
Where do you usually see them?
Have you ever seen them anywhere else? Where?
Have you seen a government-sponsored film in the past six months?
     -How many times?
What kinds of government films have you seen?
     -How frequently have you seen each?
Do people generally consider the information provided by these
     films (other than fiction) as accurate, fairly accurate,
     or inaccurate?
What kinds of government-sponsored films do you like best? Why?
Do you discuss these films with anyone? Who?

Commercial Movies

Have you ever gone to see movies at a commercial movie house?
Where do you usually go?
Have you ever seen a commercial movie anywhere else? Where?
Have you seen a commercial movie in the past twelve months?
     -How many times?
What kinds of movies have you seen and how frequently?
What kind do you like best? Why?
Do you discuss these films with anyone? Who?

Television

Have you ever watched television? Where?
Do you ever watch it anywhere else? Where?
Have you watched television in the past six months?
    -How many times?
What television stations have you watched and how frequently?
[For each station:] Do people generally consider the news and
    information televised on station _____ as accurate,
    fairly accurate, or inaccurate?
What station do you like best? Why?
What kind of television programs do you watch and how frequently?
What kinds of programs do you like best? Why?
Do you discuss the news and information that you hear on
    television with anyone? Who?

Posters and Notices

Have you ever read any posters or notices, or has anyone read
    them to you?
Where were they located?
Have you ever read posters or notices anywhere else? Where?
Have you read one in the past six months?
    -How many times?
What kinds of posters have you read, and how frequently?
Do people generally feel that the news and information in these
    bulletins are accurate, fairly accurate, or inaccurate?
What kinds of posters and notices are you most interested in? Why?
Do you discuss the news and information that you read on these
    posters with anyone? Who?

Leaflets

Have you ever read any leaflets, or has anyone read them to you?
Where did you find and read them?
Have you ever found and read them anywhere else? Where?
How were they distributed?
Have you read one in the past six months?
    -How many times?
What kinds of leaflets have you read, and how frequently?
Do people generally feel that the news and information in these
    leaflets are accurate, fairly accurate, or inaccurate?
What kinds of leaflets do you find most interesting? Why?
Do you discuss the news and information that you read on these
    leaflets with anyone? Who?

Speeches

Have you ever listened to anyone give a speech in person? Where?
Have you ever heard people give speeches anywhere else?   Where?
Have you heard a speech in the past six months?
    -How many times?
What subjects have you heard speakers talk about?
    -How frequently have you heard each subject?
Do people generally feel that the news and information given in
    speeches are accurate, fairly accurate, or inaccurate?
What kinds of speeches are you most interested in? Why?
What kinds of people have you heard give speeches?
    -How frequently have you heard each?
What kind of speaker do you like the best? Why?
Do you discuss the news and information that you hear at these
    speeches with anyone? Who?

Loudspeaker Broadcasts

Have you ever heard a broadcast from an outdoor loudspeaker? Where?
Have you ever heard a loudspeaker broadcast anywhere else? Where?
Have you heard such a broadcast in the past seven days?
    -How many times?
What kinds of things have you heard on these broadcasts?
    -How frequently have you heard each?
Do people generally consider the news and information broadcast
    as accurate, fairly accurate, or inaccurate?
Do you discuss the news and information that you hear broadcast
    from loudspeakers with anyone? Who?

Live Entertainment

Have you ever watched singers or other live entertainers perform?
    Where?
Have you ever seen them perform anywhere else? Where?
Where else have you seen live entertainers or singers?
Have you watched them in the past six months?
    -How many times?
What kinds of live entertainment have you seen?
    -How frequently have you seen each?
What kind do you like best? Why?
Do you ever discuss these performances with anyone? Who?

Part II. Informal Media

Indirect Communications

Have you kept in touch with anyone by correspondence in the
     past twelve months?
What people, and how frequently?
[For each person:] By what means did _____ communicate with you?
    -What is _____'s relationship to you, occupation, age,
     sex, residence?
    -How often and why does _____ communicate with you?
    -What kind of information does he give you, and how
     accurate do you consider it?
Does anyone outside the village ever communicate with you by
     cable or any other means besides writing letters?
What people, and how frequently have they communicated with you
     in the past twelve months?

Direct Communications

What places have you visited most frequently in the past twelve months?
How many times and why did you visit each?
[For each place visited:] Did you ever talk with anyone that provided
     you with information you later told to people in your home
     hamlet?
Which three people provided you with the most information?
[For each of these three:] What is _____'s relationship to you,
     age, sex, occupation?
    -What kind of information does _____ give you, and how
     accurate do you consider it?
    -What is the source of this information?

Seeking of News and Information

What people would you go to in order to find more detail about
     some information you heard?
[For each person:] What is _____'s occupation, relationship
     to you, age, sex?
    -What kind of information does _____ provide, what is
     its source, and how accurate do you consider it?
    -Why do you ask _____ for news and information?

Seeking of Advice and Opinions

What people would you go to in order to obtain advice, or opinion on
     some matter that is important to you, and how frequently?
[For each person:] What is _____'s occupation, relationship
     to you, age, sex?
    -What kinds of advice or opinion does _____ give you, and
     why do you consider him especially qualified?

Providing News and Information

What people usually come to you and ask for news or information,
and how frequently?
[For each person:] What is _____'s relationship to you,
occupation, age, sex?
-What kinds of news and information does _____ ask
you about, and why?

Providing Advice and Opinions

What people usually come to you and ask for your advice or
opinion on some matter, and how frequently?
[For each person:] What is _____'s occupation, relationship
to you, age, sex?
-What kinds of advice or opinion does _____ ask you for,
and why?

Contact with Hypothesized Key Communicators

[Ten "Key Communicators" were hypothesized; the questions
were asked concerning each of them.]

Traveling peddler	Lambretta, bus, or truck driver
Hamlet chief	Information Services Cadre
Teacher	Religious leader
Merchant	Popular force (Nghia quan)
Village chief	Returning travelers

Do people ever ask the _____ for news or information?
What kind of news or information does _____ usually provide
you with?
Why do people ask _____ about this kind of news?
What do people think _____'s source of information is?
Do people usually consider news and information obtained
from _____ to be accurate, fairly accurate, or inaccurate?

Reception of Informal Communications

Please tell me about several important events that you talked
about during the last four weeks (month). Please tell
me about the ones that you discussed the most frequently
first.
[For each event:] How did you first hear about it?
-What was the relationship to you of the person that first
told you about it, occupation, age?
-Was the person that told you about it a man or a woman?
-What was the source of the information of the person that told
you about it?
-About how long after the event took place did this person tell
you about it?

<u>Reception of Informal Communications</u> (Continued)

      -Where did he tell you about this event?

      -Were there other people around when he told you of it?

      -Who were these other people?

<u>Dissemination of Informal Communications</u>

Did you pass news of the event on to anyone else?

If the first person you told was not a member of your household,
      what relationship was this person to you?

      -What age, sex, and occupation?

      -About how long after you first heard about the event, did
      you tell this person about it?

      -Where did you tell this person about the event?

      -Were there other people around when you told him of this event?

      -Who were these other people?

Condensation of the Socio-Demographic Questions

Personal

What is your name?

What is your father's race?

What is your mother's race?

When were you born?

Where were you born?

Where is your home village?

Do you have any religion?

What is your religion?

Do you worship your ancestors?

Have you ever attended a class or school organized by any
religion?

What religious schools or classes have you attended?

How long did you attend?

Family

At present, do you have a wife/husband?

What is your wife's/husband's name?

Have you ever been married previously?

How many times have you been married?

How did your last marriage end?

How many children have you had?

How many of your children are living now?

Is anyone who lives in your house over twenty years old?
If so, please tell me the names, the occupation and
the length of schooling for each.

Where is your father's home village?

Where is your mother's home village?

Is your father still living? If not, where was he buried?

Is your mother still living? If not, where was she buried?

Who is the head of your extended family?

Residence
[Interviewer note and describe kinds of materials respondent's
house is constructed of.]

How long have you lived in this hamlet?

What other places have you lived in for longer than six months?

What was your reason for each time you moved from one
hamlet to another?

Occupation

Are you now working or attending school?
At other times of the year do you ever work or go to school?
What is your occupation?
In one year, how many months are you engaged in this
    occupation?
Are you engaged in any other kinds of occupations during
    the year?
What kinds, and how many months each?
Which one do you engage in for the longest length of time
    during the year?
How many months a year is that?
In the past, have you ever been engaged in any other occupations
    for longer than a year?
What occupations are they?
What is the total yearly income of each of the people living in
    your house? What is the source of that income?

Education

Can you read and write?
How many people in your household have attended school?
Have you ever attended school?
What schools have you attended?
What is the total number of years you attended school?
What is the highest diploma or degree that you have received?

Mass Media Use

Do you ever listen to the radio?
In the past seven days, how many times have you listened?
Do you ever read the newspaper?
In the past seven days, how many times have you read one?
Do you ever read magazines or books?
In the past thirty days, how many have you read?
Do you ever go to the movies?
In the past thirty days, how many times have you seen one?
Does anyone in your house listen to the radio one or more
    times in four days?
Does anyone in your house read a newspaper one or more
    times in four days?
Does anyone in your house read more than two books or
    magazines a month?
Does anyone in your house go to the movies more than once
    a month?

Travel

Have you ever traveled away from this village?
In the past twelve months, have you ever visited:
- Other places in this district? How many times? Why?
- Other places in this province outside of this district or
  My Tho? How many times? Why?
- My Tho? How many times? Why?
- Saigon? How many times? Why?
- Any other places in the southern region, outside of this
  province and Saigon? How many times? Why?
- Any place in the Central Highlands? How many times? Why?
- The Central Lowlands? How many times? Why?
- Another country in Southeast Asia? How many times? Why?
- Anywhere else? How many times? Why?

Associations

Do you belong to any organizations?
What are the names of these organizations?
Do you communicate with anyone living outside the village by
    letter, cable, or any other method?
How long have you done this?
What do you usually communicate with this person about?
Have you ever worked for or had other contact with a Frenchman?
    -For how long? By what means?
Have you ever worked for or had other contact with an American?
    -For how long? By what means?
Have you ever worked for or had other contact with any other
    foreigners?
    -For how long? By what means?
What kind of foreigner have you had the lengthiest contact with
    besides Americans and Frenchmen?
    -For how long was that?

Contact with the Viet-Cong

Where did you live before 1945?
When the resistance began, did you flee from your original residence
    because of the war?
Who controlled the area to which you fled, or where you lived
    during that period?
During that period, which side had your allegiance?
Have you ever lived under the control of the communists?
How long did you live under their control?
Has anyone in your family gone with the communists?
How long has that person been with them?
Do you now have any relative living in a communist-controlled area?
How many times have you heard communist propaganda in the past
    twelve months?

Contact with the Viet-Cong (Continued)

What is the usual subject of such propaganda?

How do the people around here feel about it?

Have you ever been involved in a battle between the
Viet-Cong and GVN forces?

-How many times?

Which of the following statements concerning how the war
will end do you feel is most correct:

The Vietnamese government will win the war in one year's time;

The Vietnamese government will win the war in five years' time;

The war will last a long time and will probably not end for at
least 15 years;

The war will be ended by agreement within two years;

The communists will win the war in five years' time;

The communists will win the war in one year's time.

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13. ABSTRACT

This is one of two reports from a research project designed to collect cultural data on rural Vietnamese--data which can be used to improve the effectiveness of psychological operations. The purpose of this report is to illustrate how the data obtained in the study can be employed in psychological operations. The data collected in the field study are presented in summary form only. The reader is referred to the second report (Martin Sternin, Robert J. Teare, Peter G. Nordlie, A Study of Values, Communication Patterns, and Demography of Rural South Vietnamese. McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., Feb. 1968), for a detailed description of the field study itself, and a comprehensive and quantitative presentation of the findings.

To obtain this basic information, a team of researchers spent eight months in the Mekong Delta collecting data in three hamlets--one Buddhist, one Catholic, and one Cao Dai. All of the data were obtained from selected samples of the population by standardized face-to-face interviews administered by trained Vietnamese interviewers.

Contents: Analysis of functional steps in psyops process; information requirements for this process; summary of data collected; scenario displaying use of data in psyops tasks; other applications of the data.

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